# MANCHESTER – SHAKESPEARE'S VICTORIAN POWERHOUSE

by

IAN MARTIN NICKSON

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The Shakespeare Institute
School of English, Drama and Creative Studies
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis provides an account of Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare's works during the Victorian era and informs this account with an examination of the prevailing cultural, social, political and economic trends. It concentrates on the careers of seven people – John Knowles, George Dawson, Charles Calvert, Henry Irving, Alfred Darbyshire, Bishop James Fraser and Rosa Grindon. Most of these personalities left us no diaries or archives of correspondence and searching contemporary press reports to fill this gap has been impossible until the advent of digitised newspaper archives. Consequently, apart from a handful of articles and books describing Calvert's revivals and the career of Rosa Grindon, Manchester's impact on Shakespearean theatre has been overlooked. By making use of these archives, I have been able to provide detailed accounts of the careers of the seven personalities who were most influential in making Manchester Shakespeare's Victorian powerhouse.

Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare was reciprocal. The leaders of the city were keen to employ the moral and spiritual messages within Shakespeare's works as a means of guiding the city's development. I describe the impact achieved by the Birmingham-based George Dawson who was invited by a Mancunian printer, Alexander Ireland, to introduce his Civic Gospel to Manchester. Although Dawson mostly spoke in private spaces, I demonstrate how Shakespeare quickly entered all aspects of the civic consciousness by examining contemporary newspaper reports and advertisements.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

As the inspiration for this thesis originates from a search of Manchester Central Library's Special Collections catalogue which revealed a listing of Shakespearean performances in Manchester from 1753 to 1954, I will open by thanking the staff there who have most willingly and readily assisted my research activities – David Denehey, Sarah Hobbs, Jane Hodkinson, Chris Hyland, Jane Parr and Dale Taylor. A hidden gem on Mosley Street is the Portico Library and I am grateful to Thom Keep and Callum Proctor for retrieving items relating to George Dawson. I was privileged to examine the archive of Bishop James Fraser, still kept in his original bookcase in the reading room of Chetham's Library, visits to which were organised by Fergus Wilde. Access to the wonderful collection of Alfred Darbyshire's drawings and to the bound volume of Charles Calvert's acting editions curated by the John Rylands Library was facilitated by Ian Graham, Peter Jervis, Angie McCarthy, John McCrory, Tony Richards, Gwen Riley-Jones and Catherine Smith. Having created what I thought was a definitive list of Charles Calvert's acting editions, at a late stage in my research I encountered his acting edition of *The Tempest*, produced three years after the revival itself, listed in the catalogue of University of Kent's Pettingell collection. I am indebted to Christine Davies for providing me with a scan of this item. I received helpful assistance from Joanne Fowler-Crane at the Manchester University's main library in arranging access to the archive of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute. I am grateful to Lisa Wood of the University of Manchester's e-resources team for providing access to the online version of Gale's Dictionary of Literary Biography and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Map 2 illustrating the locations in Manchester of various venues mentioned in this thesis was created using Azimap and I received invaluable assistance from that company's support team about exporting the map to other formats. For insights into the history of stage photography, I must

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Chapter 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| Chapter 2 | Literature Review | 12 |
| Chapter 3 | John Knowles - From Stagecoach to Stagecraft | 32 |
| Chapter 4 | George Dawson, the Civic Gospel and Shakespeare | 57 |
| Chapter 5 – Part 1 | Charles Calvert and the Saving of Henry Irving | 78 |
| Chapter 5 – Part 2 | The Invention of Mancunian Shakespeare | 98 |
| Chapter 5 – Part 3 | Mancunian Shakespeare on the World Stage | 135 |
| | *Richard III* in New York - 1871 | 138 |
| | *Henry V* in Birmingham | 147 |
| | *Henry V* in New York | 150 |
| | Rignold – The First International Shakespearean Celebrity | 156 |
| | Rignold Breaks Away | 160 |
| | Rignold in Australasia | 164 |
| | *Julius Caesar* – Made in America | 169 |
| | John Coleman – The Frustrated International Shakespearean | 174 |
| Chapter 5 – Part 4 | – Calvert's Swansong – *Henry VIII* and Bishop James Fraser | 184 |
| Chapter 6 | The Actor and the Architect | 201 |
| Chapter 7 | Mancunian Shakespeare After Calvert | 222 |
| Chapter 8 | Rosa Grindon and Feminist Shakespeare | 248 |
| Chapter 9 | The Legacy of Mancunian Shakespeare | 267 |

General Notes 276

List of Repositories 277

Abbreviations of Newspaper Titles 278

Endnotes 279

Bibliography 308

Promptbooks 324

Biographical Notes 325

Illustrations 352

Maps 376

Tables 379

Appendices 388

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### Section 1 - Theatres


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Illustration 1.1 | Manchester's First Royal Exchange, Market Place | 352 |
| Illustration 1.2 | Marsden Street Theatre | 352 |
| Illustration 1.3 | First Theatre Royal, Spring Gardens | 353 |
| Illustration 1.4 | Second Theatre Royal, Fountain Street | 353 |
| Illustration 1.5 | Gentlemen's Concert Hall | 354 |
| Illustration 1.6 | Gentlemen's Concert Hall - Side Entrance | 354 |
| Illustration 1.7 | Gentlemen's Concert Hall - Interior | 355 |
| Illustration 1.8 | First Queen's Theatre | 355 |
| Illustration 1.9 | Peter Street with the Third Theatre Royal | 356 |
| Illustration 1.10 | Third Theatre Royal | 356 |
| Illustration 1.11 | Site of the Third Theatre Royal | 357 |
| Illustration 1.12 | Third Theatre Royal - Interior | 357 |
| Illustration 1.13 | Royal Central Hotel and Cox's Bar | 358 |
| Illustration 1.14 | Third Theatre Royal - Shakespeare Statue | 358 |
| Illustration 1.15 | Prince's Theatre | 359 |
| Illustration 1.16 | Prince's Theatre Interior | 359 |
| Illustration 1.17 | Queen's Theatre | 360 |
| Illustration 1.18 | Queen's Theatre Interior | 360 |
| Illustration 1.19 | Comedy Theatre | 361 |
| Illustration 1.20 | St. James's Theatre | 361 |
| Illustration 1.21 | Palace of Varieties | 362 |

Illustration 1.22 Plan of the Palace of Varieties 362

Illustration 1.23 Side Elevation of the Palace of Varieties 363

**Section 2 - Non-Theatrical Venues**

Illustration 2.1 Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Cooper Street 364

Illustration 2.2 Athenæum c.1901 364

Illustration 2.3 Athenæum Lecture Hall and Theatre 365

**Section 3 - Personalities**

Illustration 3.1 John Knowles 366

Illustration 3.2 George Dawson 366

Illustration 3.3 Charles Calvert 367

Illustration 3.4 Henry Irving 367

Illustration 3.5 Alfred Darbyshire 368

Illustration 3.6 Bishop James Fraser 368

Illustration 3.7 Ira Aldridge 369

Illustration 3.8 Leo Grindon and Rosa Grindon 369

Illustration 3.9 Adelaide Calvert 370

Illustration 3.10 Edwin Forrest 370

Illustration 3.11 George Rignold 371

**Section 4 - Miscellaneous Illustrations**


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Illustration 4.1 | London-Manchester Stagecoach, 'The Peveril of the Peak' outside the Peacock Inn, Islington, Manchester | 372 |
| Illustration 4.2 | Photograph of tableau from *Henry V* | 373 |
| Illustration 4.3 | Calvert's Recorder | 374 |
| Illustration 4.4 | Advertisements for Rignold and Coleman | 374 |
| Illustration 4.5 | Manchester Central Library's Shakespeare Window | 375 |


## LIST OF MAPS


Map 1 King's and Queen's Men Tour Stops 1603-1616 376

Map 2 Shakespeare's Manchester 377

Key to Map 2 378


## LIST OF TABLES


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Table 1 | Populations of Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham 1801-1901 | 379 |
| Table 2 | Summary History of Manchester Theatres | 380 |
| Table 3 | Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in Manchester Newspapers | 381 |
| Table 4 | Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in Birmingham Newspapers | 382 |
| Table 5 | Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in London Newspapers | 383 |
| Table 6 | Analysis of Plays Produced during Macready's Management of Covent Garden and Drury Lane | 384 |
| Table 7 | Calvert's Revivals at the Prince's Theatre and the Theatre Royal | 385 |
| Table 8 | Charles and Louis Calvert's Acting Editions | 386 |
| Table 9 | Shakespeare-Related Works by Leo Grindon and Rosa Grindon | 387 |

## LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1 ‘On the installation of something like Shakespeare’s Image in front of the Theatre Royal, Manchester’ 388

Appendix 2 Third Theatre Royal - Dimensions, Seating Capacity and Potential Revenue 389

Appendix 3 Benjamin Brierley’s Prologue at the Athenæum - 23 April 1864 390

## PREFATORY NOTES

1) Manchester was incorporated as a city in 1853. I refer to it as a town when describing events before its incorporation and as a city for events after it.

2) I have accepted all variant spellings of Shakespeare as being correct except where the spelling is inconsistent within the same article or report.

3) Arriving at meaningful comparisons between contemporary purchasing power and that experienced by citizens of Victorian Manchester is problematic. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, prices decreased more rapidly than wages, so that, despite a lower wage, the workers buying power actually increased. To provide an indication of income and expenditure as experienced by Manchester's citizens in the Victorian era, I have consulted newspapers published in the city during 1864, the year of Calvert's first revival, and identified a range of occupations and commodities which provide a snapshot of how affordable a selection of goods and cultural activities were for various sections of society. These can be used in conjunction with costs for tickets and publications given throughout this thesis.

| **Occupation** | **Annual Wage** |
|---|---|
| Stipendiary Police Magistrate | £1000 |
| Chief Constable of Manchester | £500 |
| Headmaster of the Manchester Free Grammar School | £450 with house |
| Robert Tozer, Chief Superintendent of the Manchester Fire Brigade | £300 |
| Professor Crestadoro, chief librarian of the Manchester Free Library | £250 |
| Chaplain at Manchester City Jail | £250 |
| Council surveyor | £160 |
| Police Superintendent in Manchester | £150 |
| Parish curate | £120 |
| Manchester Mechanics' Institute - teacher of evening classes | £80 |
| Prison warder | £72 |
| Police constable | £54 |
| Matron at school for the deaf and dumb | £50 |
| Public works labourer | £44 |
| Church organist | £25 with board and lodging |
| Schoolmistress at Crumpsall workhouse | £20 with board and lodging |
| Workhouse storekeeper | £20 |
| Nurse at Crumpsall workhouse | £16 with board and lodging |

| **Commodity** | **Cost** |
|---|---|
| *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* | 1d per issue |
| Loaf of bread | 4d |
| Tickets for Calvert's production of *The Tempest* at the Prince's Theatre (15 October 1864 – 19 November 1864)<br>Gallery ……..<br>Pit ……..<br>Amphitheatre stalls (reservable) ……...<br>Lower circle (reservable) ……..<br>Orchestra stalls (reservable) …….<br>Private boxes ……....<br>" …… | <br><br>6d<br>1s<br>2s<br>3s<br>4s<br>£1 1s<br>£2 2s |
| Cocoa | 1s 6d per pound (0.45 kg) |
| Bottle of Edinburgh Dinner Ale, 1 pint (0.56 l) | 2s |
| Bowdler's *Family Edition of Shakespeare* | £1 1s |
| Athenæum annual subscription | £1 4s |
| Cellar and ground floor rooms in Piccadilly, annual rent | £30 |
| Semi-detached house in Manchester, annual rent | £38 |

Pre-decimal Currency

£1 = 20 shillings (s)

1 shilling = 12 pence (d)

Newspapers Consulted:

*Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*

*Manchester Guardian*

*Manchester Times*

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

By the time Queen Victoria acceded to the throne on 20 June 1837, there had been approximately 520 performances of Shakespeare's plays in Manchester[1] and about 680 in Birmingham.[2] If Manchester had staged fewer performances than Birmingham, what could be so significant or so distinctive about Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare's works during the Victorian era? And why would Richard Foulkes in his *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* refer to Manchester's 'provincial pre-eminence'?[3] To answer these questions, my thesis will examine the careers of seven people – John Knowles, George Dawson, Charles Calvert, Henry Irving, Alfred Darbyshire, Bishop James Fraser and Rosa Grindon (illustrations 3.1-3.7). None of them came to Manchester for purposes connected with Shakespeare's plays and only three of them for theatrical reasons. Knowles was an entrepreneur who purchased the second Theatre Royal (illustration 1.4) in 1843, despite having no theatrical background at all. In 1845, the Manchester-based printer Alexander Ireland invited Dawson to promote his Civic Gospel which had been so influential in guiding the development of Birmingham. Knowles recruited Calvert to become manager of his Theatre Royal in 1859 while Irving appears to have arrived in Manchester by chance. Darbyshire ran an architectural practice in Manchester, Fraser was appointed to the See of Manchester in 1870 by Prime Minister William Gladstone and Grindon was introduced to the city by her marriage to Leo Grindon, a botanist who resided there.

In this introductory chapter I describe Manchester's earliest interactions with Shakespeare's plays and show that by the late eighteenth century some aspects of the city's nineteenth-century engagement with Shakespearean theatre had been established. I then examine the

socio-economic trends which made the city's contributions to Shakespearean theatre during the Victorian era so significant.

The performance histories of Lancashire during the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras do not reveal any performances of Shakespeare's plays in Manchester. Although the main north-south road through Lancashire bypassed Manchester, the main road from Chester to York ran through the centre of the town so visits from itinerant troupes of players may have occurred but this cannot be confirmed as early records of drama in Manchester are almost non-existent. The actor and playhouse proprietor Edward Alleyn may have led Lord Strange's Men through Manchester in 1593 on his way from Chester to York[4] but Map 1 shows that Manchester was absent from the itineraries of the King's Men.[5] Also, players who were patronised by the nobility and gentry travelled from one noble or manor house to another and avoided towns like Manchester completely. For example, the manor house at Dunkelhalgh in Clayton-le-Moors, Lancashire attracted 191 visits from various troupes between 1612 and 1642, the King's Men visiting in December 1620, October 1624, December 1624 and in December 1628.[6] Nor did Manchester's sometimes unwelcoming, puritanical attitude to players during the 1630s encourage them to visit. The constables paid five shillings in 1636 for Thomas Maskall's troupe and six shillings eight pence for John Costine's troupe to leave in 1637.[7]

The play *Fair Em, or the Miller's Daughter of Manchester* (c.1590), which has at various times been incorrectly attributed to Shakespeare, provides the first albeit highly tenuous link between Shakespeare and Manchester but it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that evidence of performances in Manchester emerges. These took place in the first

Manchester Exchange (illustration 1.1), built in 1729 in the Market Place, near the current Royal Exchange. Its upper room was used for concerts and dances and was the venue of the first recorded performance of a Shakespeare play in Manchester, *Macbeth* in 1750.[8] Manchester's first permanent theatre was established on Marsden Street in 1753, (illustration 1.2) but after one performance plays were banned by the authorities (although concerts interspersed by short pieces were permitted), plays restarting when James Whitley, a proprietor of nineteen theatres between Leeds in the north and Worcester in the south, brought his company there in 1760. On 26 November 1760, he produced *The Merchant of Venice* 'by desire of the Free Masons' and in the advertisement for the play he reproduced a passage of Nicholas Rowe's commendation of the play from his critical edition of Shakespeare, as if to reassure the Manchester public.[9] Whitley may have instituted the tradition of theatrical philanthropy which became a prominent feature of Knowles's career. On 12 May 1760 'was paid into the hands of the Infirmary…the sum of Fifty Pounds, being a present arising from a concert performed by Mr. Whitley…'[10] while on 7 January 1761 'was paid…the sum of Thirty-One Pounds Sixteen Shillings and Sixpence…being a Present from Mr. Whitley towards erecting a handsome Clock for the Use of the Infirmary'.[11]

The Victorian traditions of Manchester recruiting metropolitan actors, employing the best scenery painters and encouraging spectacular Shakespearean productions first combined in the season of 1762. David Ross, a member of David Garrick's company, established a troupe drawn from the Theatres Royal at Covent Garden and Drury Lane. These were the first London actors to appear in Manchester, opening at the Marsden Street theatre with *The Provok'd Husband, or A Journey to London*. Setting a precedent for Calvert's use of scenic artists from the capital a century later, the scenery was 'new and painted by Mr. Lambert'.[12]

Ross also established a rigorous management style by insisting, for example, that no one would be admitted for half-price after the performance had started and made the theatre a safe and attractive place by forbidding any member of the public to walk upon the stage.[13] His repertoire was conventional but interspersed with 'an unusual number of Shakespeare's plays' and, anticipating Calvert's liberal rearrangement of the texts, Ross's productions were subject to alteration, addition and interpolation.[14] When he staged *King Lear* in 1762, it was Colley Cibber's version with the happy ending but in his 1764 staging of *King Henry the Fourth* 'by desire, will be introduced the Cushion scene'.[15] In 1770, *Cymbeline* was Garrick's version but in 1771 *The Tempest* was presented as 'an opera, altered by [John] Dryden'.[16]

Whitley returned to the Marsden Street theatre in January 1775 and announced a 'Proposal for Subscription' which would have entitled patrons to attend a Shakespeare play every Monday night. Although a Shakespeare play was not performed every week, this proposal demonstrates that by this time producing a Shakespeare play was perceived as commercially sound business.[17] The four performances which came to fruition were *The Merchant of Venice* (9 January), *Henry VIII* (13 March), *Richard III* (5 April) and *Julius Caesar* (17 April). Marsden Street theatre closed permanently on 12 May 1775 and the Theatre Royal opened on 5 June 1775 with Joseph Younger's company from Liverpool in *Othello*. Selecting a Shakespeare play for the opening of a theatre in Manchester demonstrates the respectability conferred by his name and presaged the same approach to the opening of Knowles's Theatre Royal in 1845. Younger's company returned on 9 October 1775 (the theatre's official opening date) and on 20 December 1775 Dryden's version of *The Tempest* was performed with the addition of new equipment and spectacle which also honoured to some extent historical accuracy: 'The Music, Dresses, Scenes, Machinery, Showers of Fire, Storm, Ship

Wreck and every other Decoration proper to the play'. The play promised a 'Grand Dance of Furies' and concluded with further spectacle in the form of 'a view of the calm sea and a Grand Masque between Neptune and Amphitrite in a Chariot drawn by Sea Horses surrounded by Tritons, etc'. Over the next two years more metropolitan actors appeared such as Sarah Siddons of the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane on 18 December 1776 in *A Word to the Wise* and, on 29 January 1777, the nineteen-year-old John Philip Kemble played the lead in *Othello*.[18]

By 1780, Shakespeare's plays had become a regular theatrical fixture in Manchester and various facets of the town's nineteenth-century engagement with them had been established such as the employment of metropolitan actors and scenery painters, a willingness to amend the texts, the addition of spectacle, adherence to historical accuracy and rigorous theatrical management.

Having arrived in the town for such disparate reasons, how did Manchester's social and economic trends encourage the seven personalities featured in this thesis to develop their ideas? First, Manchester was open to new thinking and to new people, whatever their race or religion. The town's expansion attracted immigrants from many countries and the tolerance which greeted this influx is exemplified by the reception given to the black American actor, Ira Aldridge (illustration 3.7). Bernth Lindfors's three-part work remains the standard reference for students of Aldridge, the first part of which describes his early career and his performances in Manchester. According to Lindfors, Aldridge came to England because he was determined to perform before audiences who '…would not condemn him on account of colour'.[19] On 11 May 1825 he appeared as Othello at London's Royalty Theatre as 'Mr.

Keene, a Gentleman of Colour'.[20] In February 1827 he performed in six different plays, including *Othello*, at Manchester's Theatre Royal, revisiting the city regularly afterwards.[21]

Manchester's tolerance of a wide range of religious beliefs made it a secure location in which diverse groups could thrive and collaborate. The seven people featured in this thesis demonstrate this – Calvert was a Swedenborgian, Dawson was a non-conformist claimed by the Unitarians as one of their own, Irving a Methodist and Darbyshire a Quaker. According to Tristram Hunt, 'the most effective advocates of the Victorian city, of its ethos, its history and its values, were the Nonconformist communities' while among those communities 'it was frequently the Unitarians…who stood out as the most articulate champions of civic virtue'.[22] Of the Little Circle of eleven reformers described in chapter 4, seven were Unitarians, including the cotton merchant John Edward Taylor who founded the *Manchester Guardian* as a means of promoting political change after Peterloo, and the industrialist Sir Thomas Fairbairn, one of the driving forces behind Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857. Not only were adherents of these religions encouraged to establish their own places of worship but the faiths actively cooperated with each other to achieve social and cultural improvements. The collaborations between Calvert, Irving and Darbyshire exemplified this cooperation.

Agitation for social and political reforms within these religious groups aligned with the desire for reform generated by the working classes of Manchester. The end of the Napoleonic Wars had returned 300,000 people into the labour market just as the economy was suffering from falling international trade and the loss of lucrative wartime contracts. By 1816, Britain's exports had fallen to sixty-six percent of their 1814 level and a rise in the price of bread

exacerbated by the Corn Laws impoverished many. Concurrently, there was discontent about the town's lack of parliamentary representation. Despite the growing population of Manchester, no Member of Parliament represented the town while the rotten boroughs system meant that rural areas returned the bulk of MPs who were often elected by a handful of trusted cronies. A demonstration against these injustices was organised to meet at St. Peter's Fields on 16 August 1819 and it was the over-reaction of the authorities to the demonstrators rather than the demonstrators themselves which placed Manchester at the centre of political reform. Local magistrates, fearful that the gathering would escalate into a riot, commanded the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry to arrest the radical politician and orator Henry Hunt who had been invited by the Patriotic Union Society to address the crowd. However, the Yeomanry, armed with sabres, lost control and struck out at the crowd. The magistrates, in the mistaken belief that the crowd was attacking the Yeomanry, ordered the 15th Hussars to disperse the demonstrators which they did by charging into them. An estimated eighteen people, including four women and a child, were killed and seven hundred others were seriously injured.

Yet, in the two decades after the Peterloo Massacre, Manchester became synonymous not with violence and sedition but with the achievement of social reform by peaceful means and with the promotion of commercial deregulation, an association reinforced by its leading role in the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Anti-Corn-Law League was established in Manchester in September 1838 and led by the industrialist Richard Cobden and the Quaker factory owner John Bright, 'the most important figure of mid-Victorian radicalism'.[23] The Leaguers argued that repeal of the Corn Laws would boost free trade, open up more markets for manufacturers, increase employment and promote international cooperation. Propaganda and

widespread activism led to the League becoming a national movement with a membership counted in the millions. As Walter Bagehot recalled, 'There has never, perhaps, been another time in the history of the world when excited masses of men and women hung on the words of one talking political economy'.[24] The repeal bill was passed on 26 June 1846 and, at its final council meeting on 2 July 1846, the League voted to suspend its activities, but made a provision for their renewal should a credible protectionist threat resurface.

Religious and racial tolerance allied to non-violent social, political and economic reforms encouraged significant population growth. Knowles's construction of the third Theatre Royal (illustrations 1.9-1.13) and Calvert's investments in spectacular revivals from 1864 to 1877 could not profitably be sustained in Birmingham or Liverpool with populations approximately one third of Manchester's (see table 1). However, such a simple numerical analysis does not tell the full story. Labelled the 'shock city of the 1840s' by the historian Asa Briggs, Manchester changed during the first half of the nineteenth century from being the world's first manufacturing town into a merchant town of warehouses and financial institutions, the prosperous *de facto* commercial and financial centre of Britain's cotton industry.[25] Elaborate warehouses for the display of finished cotton goods adorned the town centre, their number doubling to two thousand between 1800 and 1820. To process the vast amounts of money generated by these commercial activities, numerous financial institutions were established: the Bank of Manchester on Market Street opened in 1829, followed by many others around King Street, Fountain Street and Spring Gardens. Manchester was also the location of the Cotton Exchange where thousands of traders would meet on Tuesdays and Fridays to do business.[26]

Despite these symbols of commercial success, contemporary commentators reproached Manchester not simply for its perceived ugliness and moral depravity but also for its vulgar obsession with profit. In 1842, the journalist, historian and anti-Corn Law propagandist William Cooke Taylor described Manchester as 'essentially a place of business, where pleasure is unknown as a pursuit, and amusements scarcely rank as secondary considerations'.[27] In 1833, W. H. Jones asserted that '…this insatiable passion for gain cannot co-exist with a love of literature of the fine arts' and described the Manchester man as a philistine for whom 'philosophy has no attraction, poetry no enchantment'.[28] Given the vehemence of this public criticism it is understandable that, according to Hunt, 'the architects of the new industrial civilisation were sensitive to the charge of philistinism' and offended by the accusation that their cities 'were little more than reflections of materialism and acquisitive individualism'.[29] Manchester's response was 'to craft [its] own proudly urban, often dissenting, necessarily bourgeois culture with its endogenous heroes and traditions'.[30]

This culture was forged in new institutions which provided centres of social intercourse and cultural interchange. Prominent among these were the Literary and Philosophical Society (1781), the Portico Library (1802), the Royal Manchester Institution (1823) and the Manchester Institution for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts (1823). The arts' dependency on the aristocracy was progressively replaced by patronage from the newly affluent middle classes, strengthening the public association between culture and commerce. In 1839, the *Art Union* commented on Manchester's preeminent position:

> This town has long been considered the strongest provincial "help" to artists; and… a greater number of works of art have been sold to the cotton-spinners and cotton-printers

> – princes in wealth. munificent in display, and exhibiting continual proofs of taste and Judgement – than have been disposed of in any other city or town in England.[31]

The institution which had the greatest influence on the leaders of the town was the Athenæum and in this section I explain why its committee selected a name that reflected Manchester's enthusiastic adoption of contemporary Hellenising influences. Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Europe was again open to tourists and Greece became the destination of choice for those seeking culture, partly through the interest created by the arrival of the Elgin marbles in 1803 and partly through the guidebooks and travelogues which followed. The result was, as Hunt describes, 'With unprecedented numbers of middle-class tourists returning from Greek expeditions, Hellenism became the fashion of the day'.[32] Hunt further asserts that '…the Victorian civic elite saw in the Greek city states both an ideal of urban living and an answer to the slur of philistinism'.[33] By emulating ancient Athens, Manchester could combine commercial success with aesthetic energy and so refute charges of philistinism. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the name Athenæum was selected for the institution which opened in 1835 'for the benefit of the tradesmen, commercial assistants and apprentices, professional students, clerks, of this very populous and flourishing town' and dedicated to 'the growth of intelligence and refinement shall be commensurate with the extension of manufactures and wealth'.[34] (illustrations 2.1-2.2) These Hellenising influences were no passing fancy. In his 1844 political novel, *Coningsby,* Benjamin Disraeli expressed his belief that that '…rightly understood, Manchester is as great a human exploit as Athens'.[35] In the same year, he delivered a lecture at the Athenæum entitled *The Value of Literature to Men of Business* in which he noted in the town an 'irresistible yearning for intellectual refinement' and describing the Athenæum as 'an edifice consecrated to those

beautiful emotions and to those civilizing studies'. He encouraged the leaders of Manchester to look at the Athenian precedent to understand how commerce could be an enabler of rather than an obstacle to cultural refinement and instructed them to 'direct in every way the formation of that character upon which intellect must now necessarily exercise irresistible influence'.[36]

So, by the end of 1844, in Manchester the emphasis had shifted from wealth-creation for its own sake to artistic patronage and civic refinement enabled by commerce and shaped by Athenian traditions. In chapters 3 and 4 I describe how Dawson and Knowles became influential leaders in this mission. But why did the works of Shakespeare figure so largely in this mission? According to Hunt, 'In a society whose elite possesses a common culture, allusions, whether to Cicero or Michelangelo, are a stylized shorthand with which the educated communicate over the heads of the vulgar'. In Manchester, Shakespeare was appropriated as a stylized shorthand not as a means of communicating 'over the heads of the vulgar', but for betterment of all sections of society.[37]

## CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

George Odell in *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* (1920) wrote that between 1859 and 1879, Shakespeare's plays appeared on the stage in 'a series of scattered performances at various theatres, Drury Lane being the most conspicuous'.[1] From this, a researcher may conclude that a study of the productions of Shakespeare's plays in British provincial theatres in this period would yield little of value. As this thesis demonstrates, this is untrue, so why did Odell express this opinion? Appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature at Columbia University in 1924, as one of the first generation of professional theatre historians he needed to confer status and stability upon this precarious fledgling occupation, so he focussed on the respectable and 'high art' metropolitan theatre to be found in London and New York rather than on the 'showbiz' productions to be found in provincial towns and cities. It is not surprising therefore that Odell's successors such as Allardyce Nicoll, who left London to accept the post of Professor of Dramatic Studies at Yale in 1933, should also base their research on the activities of metropolitan theatres. Another reason is that evidence relating to provincial theatre history is fragmentary and scattered across many repositories. In Manchester's case, some repositories, such as the John Rylands Library, are located in the city but others are to be found in London, Birmingham, Stratford-upon-Avon, New York and Sydney. Even today, material in Manchester's Central Library and Birmingham's Shakespeare Library has not been fully catalogued and most is not available online.

If accessing evidence has traditionally been a challenge to the researcher of Mancunian Shakespeare, then the absence of evidence left by some key figures has presented another. John Knowles left no diaries, no correspondence, in fact no written evidence at all. There are no illustrations, drawings or photographs of him, the only likeness being an alabaster bust in

Manchester Town Hall, a mute testament to his importance to the city. No author published a contemporary account of his life nor do histories of Manchester contain anything approaching a complete narrative of his career. Calvert failed to commit any of his experiences to print before his death in 1879, although a diary from 1878, in which he listed income and expenditure along with details of the doses of morphine he required, currently languishes in an uncatalogued box described as *Material relating to Charles Calvert* in Manchester's Central Library.[2] He provided background information for most of his revivals in the prefaces and notes of his acting editions which were available to the public from the box office for a few pence. Although these acting editions are now scarce – a single copy of his *Twelfth Night* is known – all can be viewed electronically in several digital repositories.

Memoirs and biographies tend to be selective and subjective but, if employed with these deficiencies in mind, they can provide useful narratives and insights into the lives of important personalities before they came to the attention of the press. Adelaide Calvert's *Sixty-Eight Years on the Stage* is an affectionate account of her life as actor, wife and mother (illustration 3.9) and most pertinent to my research are those sections which describe the careers of Knowles, Irving and her husband, Charles. Her work provides an excellent foundation upon which a researcher can construct a narrative, but understandably it lacks some detail as one might expect in a work which describes a sixty-eight-year career in a single volume. There are a few examples of inexact timescales in her memoirs, such as '… some time later she received a cable informing her that Calvert had quarrelled with the directors'[3] and some factual inaccuracies such as 'the Queen's Theatre had opened under the new directorship with *Henry the Fourth*'[4] whereas it in fact reopened with *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Nevertheless, her memoirs are especially helpful in describing Irving's

unannounced arrival in Manchester in 1860 as an unsuccessful and penniless actor, which unsurprisingly aroused no press interest, and on the development of the friendship between the Calverts and Irving.

John Batchelder's *Henry Irving: A Short Account of His Public Life* (1883) devotes a few pages to Irving's arrival in Manchester in and describes him as 'a new member of the company at the Theatre Royal…from Edinburgh'[5] but by 1861 he 'was still only thought equal to inferior parts'.[6] Nowhere can the name of Knowles be found while Calvert is referred to only in his capacity as an actor, playing Cassio to Irving's Iago,[7] his managerial role only alluded to when Irving appeared in 1865 in 'Mr. Calvert's benefit'.[8] Calvert's pivotal role as mentor and close friend to Irving is unacknowledged. Laurence Irving's 1951 biography of his grandfather provides the most comprehensive account of Calvert's nurturing of Irving's early career. A chapter entitled *Theatre Royal, Manchester* describes Irving's performances in Manchester and the connections he made there not only with Calvert but also with Alfred Darbyshire who appears throughout this thesis as an important link between the theatrical and commercial worlds.[9] There are some omissions, however. In 1887, Irving and Darbyshire collaborated to design the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan which had a global influence on the design of theatres but, despite the significance of this achievement, Irving makes no mention of it, the pages devoted to that year instead describe his grandfather's financial situation and his relationship with the leading English actor Ellen Terry.[10]

Of memoirs and biographies, the most insightful are those of Darbyshire. His *An Architect's Experiences: Professional, Artistic and Theatrical* (1897) is an illuminating account of his involvement in many of the social and political developments in Manchester. It is especially

helpful to the researcher as he describes not only his friendships and working relationships with Calvert and Irving but also the financial aspects of theatrical management under the sub-headings of *Opinions of Some Critics on the Financial Success of Shakespearian Revivals* and *Yearly Profit at the Manchester Prince's Theatre*. It is difficult to locate information relating to the financial position of Victorian theatres and it is entirely thanks to Darbyshire that we know Manchester's Prince's Theatre under Calvert's management was 'earning an annual profit of something like £10,000 to £12,000. This came from Shakespeare, the high-class drama, and the best companies on the road'.[11]

Darbyshire's *The Art of the Victorian Stage* (1907) deals with the theatre outside Manchester as well, with a distinct emphasis on Shakespearean productions, devoting entire chapters to Charles Kean, Samuel Phelps, Calvert and Irving. The chapter headed *Theatre Building* provides the most detailed account of the evolution of the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan and presents the first statement of its principles outside the national press. But Darbyshire is selective in his coverage and avoids mentioning his involvement in anything controversial. For example, he does not refer to his expulsion from the Quakers following his appearance in Calvert's memorial performance of *As You Like It* nor does he describe his role in the Manchester branch of the Independent Theatre Society which was responsible for the performance of controversial plays at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall (illustrations 1.5-1.7). Despite these omissions, Darbyshire was influential in Manchester for much of the Victorian period and his two works provide significant insights not found elsewhere.

The memoirs of William Macready and Charles Kean make only passing references to Manchester while those of the actor-manager John Coleman are unreliable. Coleman's own

spectacular production of *Henry V*, based on Calvert's acting edition and business model, was unsuccessful and his plan to tour America with it did not materialise. He blames this on his putative partner, the American dramatist and theatre manager Augustin Daly, who 'had only just commenced his brilliant career there and did not see his way to make a substantial deposit which was absolutely essential to complete the contract' but in fact it was a result of his own financial and organisational failures.[12]

Little has been published that is devoted specifically to the history of Manchester's theatres and even less that deals with the city's Shakespearean productions in the Victorian period. J. L. Hodgkinson and Rex Pogson's *The Early Manchester Theatre: 1750-1807* (1960) ends before the Victorian era. Joyce Knowlson's *Red Plush and Gilt* (1984) provides an overview of the city's theatres but does not quote any sources. *Manchester Theatres* (1994) by Terry Wyke and Nigel Rudyard contains much that is useful to the researcher such as a brief history of each of theatre, a list of the contents of the Manchester Theatre Collection and the identities of other collections such as the Behrens Collection of manuscript material relating to the Theatre Royal. The authors also explain how theatre historians have neglected the city and suggest that future research should link socio-political trends to the city's theatrical activities.

That Manchester's contributions to Shakespearean theatre are under-represented in the literature makes the research conducted by Richard Foulkes all the more significant. His *The Calverts : Actors of Some Importance* (1992) was the first detailed account of their careers and is notable for its extensive use of newspaper archives which must have required great patience in those pre-internet days. Foulkes lists thirty-nine different periodicals and

newspapers in his bibliography, but when he describes several of his sources as 'Unidentified newspaper cutting in the Local History Library', we see something of the challenges he faced.[13] From the bibliography, it is clear that he remained substantially reliant on previously published works but his employment of periodicals to supplement traditional scholarship was a significant step.

In his *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (2002), Foulkes presented the first discussion of Manchester's influence on global Shakespeare with his analysis of Calvert's influence on George Rignold's acting career in a chapter headed *Made in Manchester: Charles Calvert and George Rignold*. His article *Charles Calvert's 'Henry V'* (1989) is the first and, so far, only in-depth analysis of any of Calvert's revivals while his *Church and Stage in Victorian England* (1997) is an important work which contrasts how the church regarded the stage in the first half of the nineteenth century with the state of that relationship after the pioneering activities of Fraser. Throughout, Foulkes avoided the subjectivity and apparent bias against provincial, spectacular theatre that earlier treatments of Calvert's revivals had exhibited. Odell had, for example, referred to Calvert's acting edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* as a 'poor thing'.[14] Rostron in his 1970 thesis utterly condemned it and those who found any artistic value in it. Although Rostron initially concurs with Odell's view that the play 'is so episodic, so devouring in its demands on the stage manager and on the attention of an audience, that I hardly see how it can be presented at all', any sympathy with the demands of presenting a play with forty-two scenes soon evaporates.[15] Rostron dismisses Calvert as an actor who 'thought he could improve on Shakespeare' and refers to his edition as a 'botched text', 'an utterly inadequate text' and 'emasculated' with 'essential sections of the play…brutally and tastelessly excised', all of which 'marked the nadir of its

interpretation'.[16] That the press in London was full of praise for Vining's use of Calvert's version of the play in London is, in Rostron's opinion, simply because 'the critics were as short of aesthetic perception as Calvert himself'.[17]

In the years following Foulkes's publications, little else has been written about Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare. However *Shakespeare in the North: Place, Politics and Performance in England and Scotland* (2021) contains a chapter by Monika Smialkowska entitled "What is Shakespeare to Manchester? : Shakespearean Engagement in the North at the Turn of the Twentieth Century".[18] This is a pioneering contribution to the literature as, for the first time, an academic work has acknowledged the existence of the Shakespeare Window located above the main entrance of Manchester's Central Library (illustration 4.5) and, using a range of archive material, has explained the convoluted discussions which preceded its installation. Also for the first time, Smialkowska has described Grindon's promotion of Shakespeare's plays as a moral guide to be employed alongside the Bible and her willingness to engage fully with commercial, popular Shakespeare such as the series of lectures she gave in association with Richard Flanagan's revivals. The list of sources shows that Smialkowska found little in the published literature to support her arguments and instead was reliant on newspapers and archival material.[19]

A few websites devote one or two pages to aspects of theatre in Manchester during the Victorian era but taken together they do not constitute a coherent narrative. The website of the University of Manchester's Special Collections provides an overview of the career of Calvert which is unusually complete in its provision of images of archival material such as Darbyshire's sketches for *Henry V* and a list of sources, but omits any mention of the global

reach of Calvert's revivals.[20] The website of Irving Society states that Irving transported his entire London productions on eight tours of North America and that this was something never previously attempted when in fact it had been done before by Calvert.[21] *Architects of Greater Manchester 1800-1940* provides a biography of Darbyshire which mentions his brief career as an amateur actor but omits his collaborations with Calvert and his involvement in the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan.[22] *Manchester Theatre History* provides a resumé of each theatre but there is no attempt to link these histories to plays produced in them or to highlight any innovative architectural features.[23] Grindon's online presence is even more slender, consisting of two pages. The first is a blog entry dated 18 September 2018 of an Adèle Emm who gives the reader a highly selective view of Grindon's life,[24] the second is a page devoted to the work of John Cassidy, a Manchester sculptor, which provides an overview of her achievements.[25]

That I have been able to assemble a comprehensive analysis of Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare in the Victorian era is largely attributable to the availability of online digitised newspaper archives and their associated search facilities. A manual search of the physical newspapers required for this research would have been impossible within even the most generous timescale permitted to produce a doctoral thesis; even if it were possible, the incidence of errors and omissions would be incalculable.

Newspapers printed before the nineteenth century exist in scattered private collections and so have not survived as complete runs. Their uneven typesetting does not lend itself to the reliable application of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technology, rendering search results unpredictable and inaccurate. Fortunately, the absence of copyright restrictions, the

presence of systematically compiled archives in place of incomplete private collections and improvements in typography have all contributed to the establishment of complete, accurate and stable online repositories of nineteenth-century periodicals. The British Newspaper Archive (BNA), based on the holdings of the British Library, benefited from the legal deposit legislation of 1869 which stipulated that all newspaper publishers lodge a copy of every edition with the library. In contrast, the researcher of post-Victorian theatre faces a problem caused by the sheer volume of published material. Only a small fraction of the vast amount of twentieth and twenty-first century publications have been digitised and the images accompanying the text are often omitted from digitised publications thus breaking the interplay between image and text, a central aspect of post-1900 media. The limitations inherent in digitised pre- and post-nineteenth-century publications have had minimal impact on this thesis since a study centred on the Victorian period can happily use the most complete and stable assemblage of digitised artefacts of all.

I have employed five digital newspaper repositories – the British Newspaper Archive (BNA), Newspapers.com, TimesMachine, Papers Past and Gale Primary Sources. The BNA has made it possible for me to search numerous periodicals (except the *Manchester Guardian*) originating not only from Manchester and the surrounding area but also from the rest of the United Kingdom. I employed Newspapers.com initially to examine the *Manchester Guardian* (confusingly categorised as a London-based publication despite it being based in Manchester from its inception in 1821 until 1964) but it has also provided excellent coverage of international papers – except the *New York Times* – to inform my discussions about Calvert and Rignold's overseas careers. TimesMachine provides digitised copies of all editions of the *New York Times* since 1851 so I have been able to access all the articles and advertisements

relating to Calvert's collaborations with the theatre managers Henry Clay Jarrett and Henry David Palmer along with Rignold's career in the United States. For Rignold's career in Australasia, I have employed Newspapers.com and Papers Past, the latter providing scans of New Zealand and Pacific newspapers, magazines and journals.

The University of Birmingham is a subscriber to Gale Primary Sources which is an online portal giving access to twenty-three repositories. Its ability to interrogate all these repositories with a single search is a most useful and efficient facility but, for my research, its usefulness has been limited. Its British Library Newspapers repository duplicates periodicals accessible via the BNA while its other eight newspaper repositories consist of London-based periodicals which contain few references to Manchester. A search across the Gale newspaper repositories for 'Charles Calvert' between 1 January 1859 and 31 December 1878 identified 97 matches in contrast to the 4,590 matches in the BNA. Moreover, when Shakespearean productions were reviewed in the London periodicals, Calvert's contributions were often elided. For example, this from *John Bull* for 23 September 1876: '*Henry the Fifth* has been revived three times within the memory of playgoers - by Mr. Macready at Covent Garden, Mr. Phelps at Sadler's Wells, and Mr. C. Kean at Princess's'.[26] No mention of Calvert's 1872 revival is made. However, the Gale archive of the *Daily Telegraph* includes pre-1869 editions whereas the BNA only provides post-1869 editions. It was via this former archive that I discovered Edward Saker's employment of the Grieves as scenery designers for his 1867 production of *The Tempest* at his Alexandra theatre in Liverpool.

All these archives provide high-quality images of the text and offer sophisticated search facilities although their user interfaces differ and their idiosyncrasies take time to unravel.

However, their subscriptions costs are, when calculated against the vast number of pages available, extremely low. As of August 2021, the cheapest annual subscription for TimesMachine is £96, for the British Newspaper Archive £80 and for Newspapers.com £64. Papers Past is free as is Gale Primary Sources to students of subscribing institutions.

For my research, these archives are crucial since, as Kathryn Prince observes, '…the periodicals' ability to focus attention on more immediate, local concerns contributes to a more detailed and more authentic analysis of Shakespeare's status in the nineteenth century'.[27] Moreover, this local detail was articulated partly through the voices of those whose opinions could not be articulated via books or learned journals. Prince suggests that '…disenfranchised groups such as working-class or colonial writers…were more likely to be published in periodicals than in any other genre, if only as correspondents or occasional contributors'.[28] Thus, newspaper archives provide authentic detail from a range of social groupings offering the researcher reliable, objective information such as performance dates and cast members via advertisements and reviews of performances. However, employing these reviews for comparative purposes is less satisfactory. Subjectivity may be introduced by regional bias or by the desire to avoid offending the paper's readership or by the inability of provincial reviewers to compare productions as they had been unable to travel to other locations to see them. Batchelder, referring to the review in the *Era* of *Hamlet* at the Theatre Royal on 26 June 1864, cautions against its accuracy since 'This English weekly…is not particularly well served by its provincial correspondents' and suggests one cause of this is that 'Men of taste and experience do not care to undertake such small and poorly-paid work'. Moreover, the review suggests that provincial critics lack the experience and breadth of knowledge to write insightfully: 'London criticism is often hasty, superficial, not absolutely

unbiassed perhaps, but at any rate it is based on some standard of comparison and formed on some variety of experience'. As a result of these perceived deficiencies of the Manchester press, 'It is to be regretted that no critic was present more competent to judge of the qualities and faults of the performance than the ordinary reporter of the *Era* newspaper'.[29]

Dominic Shellard's *Harold Hobson: Witness and Judge* (1995) advises against taking reviews at face value and suggests that doing so is a common deficiency among theatre historians:

> Historians working in any other field question the reliability of their source material before they begin to formulate academic judgements, but few drama specialists consider whether a theatre critic's views have been shaped by political, economic and editorial influences, let alone personal, religious or emotional sensibilities, or even the nature of the publications that they write for…and the constrictions of space that their editors permit them.[30]

This question of reliability is even more of an issue for students of provincial drama since the range of newspapers is more restricted and a range of balancing views may not available. Paul Prescott asserts that his *Reviewing Shakespeare* was the first to deal with the relationship between journalism and Shakespearean theatre because scholars had previously held journalists and their criticism in low esteem. As a result, newspaper criticism possessed the reputation of a 'secondary, parasitic pursuit conducted in the compromising context of journalism'.[31] This reputation was not helped by the lack of professionalism in theatre criticism and it was not until 1907 that an attempt was made to codify standards and to legitimise the genre by the establishment of the Society of Dramatic Critics.[32] Reviews were

further compromised by the restrictions of time and space imposed upon them as they had to meet a deadline of anywhere from forty-five minutes to a week after the performance.[33] The length of the review was also restricted by the space allotted to it as was its subject matter, being limited to a review of a recently performed play. Given these constraints, Prescott's assessment of Victorian theatre criticism as 'quasi-legitimate and semi-professional' is justified.[34] Consequently, Prescott warns us that 'Great caution should be exercised when using contemporary reviews as evidence of artistic superiority or inferiority'. As supporting evidence, he describes Garrick's manipulation of the press: 'Garrick owned stock in two or three newspapers and was on very friendly terms with the editors of those and other papers…And furthermore his widow…told Edmund Kean that David always wrote his own criticisms'.[35]

Reviews of productions in the United States were similarly compromised. Charles Dickens, in a letter written in 1844 to William Macready, described the American press as 'bloated, loathsome, foul' and 'puff-ridden', its theatre reviewers as 'vagabonds' and its newspapers as 'ignorant and brutal'.[36] The *London Examiner,* edited by Macready's close friend John Forster, unsurprisingly criticised Macready's rival Edwin Forrest on the grounds that he 'cannot appreciate, even if he understands, the language…of the bard of Avon' and continued by attacking the American people, describing them as 'ignorant, ill-judging countrymen, who know no more of Shakespeare than of Hebrew or Sanskrit'.[37] Occasionally theatre reviewers exercised a direct influence on the stage. Adam Badeau, a reviewer for the *Sunday Times* and *Noah's Messenger*, offered to tutor Edwin Booth in Shakespearean interpretation, theatre history and literature, to help him achieve 'absolute mastery' of his art, while acknowledging his own 'infatuation with Booth' and his own 'influence with the press'. Subsequently

Badeau published weekly articles that helped shape and consolidate Booth's professional reputation.[38]

The *Manchester Stage 1880-1900*, a compilation of reviews of plays published in the *Manchester Guardian*, claimed that the press 'speaks freely and with impunity'.[39] However, their freedom and impunity were compromised by self-interest and outside influence as demonstrated by this quote from the *Entr'acte and Limelight*:

> …I cannot bring to mind that honest criticism is to be obtained from writers who are pecuniarily interested in the object criticised….When actors or musicians tell me that they advertise in the *Dutchoven* because the proprietor thereof also writes the notices in the more important *Gridiron*, I feel sure that this diplomacy reflects an iniquitous state of things.[40]

Clement Scott was for twenty-nine years the theatre critic for the *Daily Telegraph* and for twenty years editor of his own magazine, *The Theatre*. The longevity of these dual responsibilities gave theatrical journalism unprecedented stability but they also conferred on him great power which 'he was not superhuman enough to exercise without abuse'.[41] Indeed, his support for the Bancrofts and Irving cannot be relied upon since he wrote for the former and was paid by the latter.

Seeking balance in reviews is not helped by the lack of women reviewers since they had 'often been the subjects of criticism, [but] they have rarely…been the authors of it; the default setting for Shakespearean reviewing is one of a male critic writing about male

actors'.[42] *The Manchester Stage 1880-1900* casually confirms this gender bias: 'Writing under the conditions of daily journalism, *he* has to strike his balance quickly'(my italics).[43] This same work identifies the exclusively male reviewers: 'W[illiam] T[homas] Arnold, Oliver Elton, Allan N[oble] Monkhouse, and C[harles] E[dward] Montague'.[44] Nor was there consistency in reviews even within the same newspaper. As Prince points out: '…because each issue of a periodical was designed to be replaced by the next in a week or a month's time, there was generally little attempt to build on previous criticism or even to retain a consistent editorial position'.[45]

In an attempt to correct these distortions, I have provided objective evidence to verify or refute the opinions of the press. For example, to supplement the positive reviews of revivals produced by Calvert, Jarrett and Palmer and Rignold, I have included other indicators of success such as the length of the run, financial returns and exports of productions to other locations. To corroborate Dawson's enthusiastic press reception, I have described how he filled the rooms in which he spoke even on a weekday afternoon and provided evidence of how long his Civic Gospel persisted in the minds of Mancunians. Fraser's sermons in two Manchester theatres were reported all over Britain in overwhelmingly positive terms and, as additional evidence of this reception, I have included details of the proceedings of the following year's Church Congress which, for the first time, debated the need to improve the church's relationship with the theatre. Turning to Grindon's career in Manchester, the press reported favourably on her presidency of the Literary Society and was most supportive of the 'At Home' with Irving and Terry arranged by Grindon. Flanagan's invitation to her to deliver lectures before the opening night of several of his revivals, her publications which treated Shakespeare's plays in innovative ways and her invitation to lecture at the Shakespeare

Festival in Stratford-upon-Avon, the first woman to do so, all corroborate the positive opinions expressed in the periodicals.

Although they seldom discuss Manchester's theatres, I have employed a wide array of secondary sources to contextualise my primary source material and to deepen my analysis of it. Space does not permit me to describe all of them here so instead I will describe those most important to my research. Asa Briggs's *Victorian Cities* and *Victorian People* have long been standard reference works for students seeking a discussion of the socio-political backgrounds of Victorian cities. However, more pertinent to this thesis has been Hunt's *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* in which Manchester features prominently. For example, he discusses the middle-class sensitivity to the charge of philistinism and its response which involved importing influences from classical Greece, facilitated in part by the resumption of grand European tours following the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Hunt describes the Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857 and the impact this had on city's cultural reputation, enabling me to link these events to Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare.

Nothing has been written about Dawson's lectures in Manchester since the personal recollections of Ireland in 1882. However, Ewan Fernie's descriptions of Dawson's Civic Gospel, its Shakespearean connection and its contributions to Birmingham's civic development in his online article *The Lost Prophet* and in his opening chapter in *George Dawson and his Circle* (2021) have provided context to my chapter on Dawson's activities in Manchester and have enabled me to contrast that town's adoption of the Civic Gospel with Birmingham's.

For Calvert's revivals, I have drawn on secondary sources to understand the financial constraints within which he worked and to demonstrate his influence on other theatre managers. Financial records of Victorian theatres are scarce so Tracy Davis's *Economics of the British Stage, 1800-1914* (2000) and Michael Booth's *Victorian Spectacular Theatre, 1850-1910* (1981) provided useful general information to supplement the specific data gleaned from memoirs and periodicals. Jackson's "Shakespeare in Liverpool: Edward Saker's Revivals, 1876-81" (1978) remains the most detailed account of Saker's revivals in that city and, by describing the collaborations between Calvert and Saker, has allowed me to assess Calvert's influence outside Manchester. *Theatre Lighting in the Age of Gas* (1978) by Terence Rees has helped me explain how Calvert's spectacular gatherings of hundreds of actors on stage would have been impossible without developments in stage illumination and why brightly coloured, reflective costumes were employed to make the most of these developments. I have made frequent references to Richard Schoch's *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage* (1998) as many of the observations on Kean's devotion to antiquarianism and theatrical historicism apply also to Calvert. This work has helped me to identify where Calvert was derivative, building on Kean's legacy, and where he was innovative in his own right. To understand the reasons for Calvert and Rignold's successes in Australia and New Zealand, I have employed John Rowan Griffiths's *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities*, *1880-1939* (2014) and David Holloway's *Playing the Empire : The Acts of the Holloway Touring Theatre Company* (1979). These describe the economic, cultural and demographic trends in those countries and how they differed from those in Britain and the United States, making it possible for me to explain why Australia and New Zealand were so enthusiastic towards Rignold's martial and nationalistic portrayal of Henry.

Grindon made significant original contributions to the theatrical, literary and political spheres all within the context of her desire to improve the lives of women. Gail Marshall's *Shakespeare and Victorian Women* (2009) provides excellent context from which I can explain the reasons for Grindon's success as a Shakespearean scholar. For example, Marshall discusses the 'new woman' movement in literature and politics which emerged in the nineteenth-century and quotes from Kathleen Knox, a writer of didactic children's fiction, who warned that the activities of new women would be destructive 'unless leavened by the lessons of Shakespeare'.[46] Ann Thompson and Sasha Roberts's *Women Reading Shakespeare, 1660-1900 : An Anthology of Criticism* (1997) provides biographies of other women involved in the study of Shakespeare which has helped me place Grindon's literary career in a broader context. Of particular interest are Dorothea Beale, principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College who wrote a monograph on *King Lear* and the writer and feminist Julia Wedgwood who wrote on *Julius Caesar* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for the *Contemporary Review*. Thompson and Robert's chapter on the English author Mary Cowden Clarke facilitated a deeper understanding of Grindon's career by pointing out that Shakespeare became Clarke's way of 'assimilation' into otherwise exclusively male groups.[47] Moreover, we learn that Clarke was the first woman editor of Shakespeare, publishing *Shakespeare's Works* in 1845 and so blazing a trail for others such as Grindon to follow.[48]

The activities of the seven personalities in this thesis had the effect of increasing Shakespeare's cultural value beyond that of mere entertainment. There is nothing in the literature specifically about Manchester but Graham Holderness's *Beauty Too Rich for Use* (2018) and Robert Shaughnessy's *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (2007) provide methods of analysing the disconnected quotations from Shakespeare

found in the primary sources and of assessing Shakespeare's increased cultural value. Although there is ample literature devoted to Annie Horniman's pioneering repertory theatre in Manchester, there is little which describes the activities of the Independent Theatre Society which prepared the ground for it. Of the society's founder, Jacob Grein, an impresario and theatre critic, the standard work remains Nicolaas Schoonderwoerd's 1963 monograph. Other works place the society in its historical context, particularly the journal articles "The Independent Theatre Society's Revolutionary Scheme for an Uncommercial Theater" (1990) by Tracy Davis and "Ibsen on the London Stage: Independent Theatre as a Transnational Space" (2017) by Philip Bullock. Consequently the chapter describing Manchester after the death of Calvert draws substantially from newspaper archives and almost exclusively from one periodical, the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, other newspapers apparently avoiding any mention of Grein's potentially seditious enterprise.

Theses and journal articles have provided useful insights throughout my research. Val Brodie's *The Music for Henry V in Victorian Productions by Kean and Calvert* (2007) was inspired by the discovery of the score for Calvert's *Henry V* and presents a fascinating account of how music contributed to his theatrical effects. Her thesis helpfully explains Calvert's eclecticism in his choice of music and his willingness to sacrifice authenticity for the creation of atmosphere. Shane Ewen's "The Internationalization of Fire Protection: In Pursuit of Municipal Networks in Edwardian Birmingham" (2005) describes the Tozer family's influence on improvements in theatre safety and how the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan may have been disseminated across Europe. Eileen McCourt's *Samuel Phelps at Sadler's Wells Theatre 1844-1862* (2019) provides an excellent account of Phelps's cultural and artistic contributions and has assisted me in assessing his influence on Calvert's career.

*Provincial Shakespeare Performance, 1769-2016: Cultural Exchange between Centre and Periphery* (2019) by Hannah Manktelow, a thesis which also made substantial use of online archives, revealed to me that Calvert's first transfer of a total production was to Newcastle in 1867 and explained that such a large-scale movement of personnel and properties was highly unusual for the time.

## CHAPTER 3 - FROM STAGECOACH TO STAGECRAFT

In *The Calverts : Actors of Some Importance* (1992) and *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire* (2002), Foulkes describes Calvert's career in Manchester with particular emphasis on his Shakesperean revivals. In this chapter I supplement Foulkes's research by demonstrating that Knowles at his Theatre Royal laid the foundations of Calvert's career by establishing a business model and management style which he could follow. I describe Knowles's early business activities and how they shaped his theatre management career from its commencement in 1842 until his recruitment of Calvert as manager of the Theatre Royal in 1859. I argue that the career of Knowles was distinctive and ground-breaking because he achieved consistent profitability while raising production standards, an achievement all the more notable since, as Booth points out, 'The Victorian manager received no subsidy, governmental or municipal...He took the risk, and the profits, if they materialised'.[1]

Knowles achieved sustained profitability by constructing a theatre which was designed to support a business model rather than being planned to satisfy exclusively artistic or aesthetic aims. This sound financial base made it possible for him to introduce innovations into theatre design, to support Calvert's ambitious ideas, to launch a wide and varied range of philanthropic activities and to improve the reputation of the theatre. These contributions were underpinned throughout by an energetic work ethic, rigorous financial control, an assertive but fair-minded man-management style and an insistence on constantly raising production values. He had probably learned many of these attributes by working alongside his father in the family businesses, a route unavailable to those managers from exclusively theatrical backgrounds.

Before examining Knowles's career, I will compare his disciplined style to the haphazard and self-interested approaches of other managers. It would be ineffective to compare Knowles with managers of smaller provincial theatres who did not have the resources of an expanding, prosperous town such as Manchester at their disposal. Therefore, I have employed two contemporary managers of London theatres as comparators – William Charles Macready and Samuel Phelps.

Macready's management career was combative and financially unsuccessful. At Covent Garden during 1838, his attempts to produce operas and farces as attractive afterpieces had not been successful but his worst setback was the failure of that year's Christmas pantomime, on which he had invested £1,500. After this, the proprietors informed him that they planned to relet the theatre and expected his resignation.[2] Despite these problems, Macready would have been willing to undertake a third year of management but for a dispute with the proprietors of the theatre who had objected to his unauthorised subleasing of it to the Anti-Corn-Law League. However, Macready refused to admit any wrong on his part or to discuss refunding the rental fee so he announced his retirement as manager while denouncing in his diary the proprietors as knaves and blackguards, the actors as traitors and slaves and the newspaper reviewers as ignorant coxcombs and vile, low-minded creatures. Although his last performance was greeted by a full house of cheering and applauding supporters, he had to leave the theatre without his wardrobe, because the proprietors would not allow him to remove his trunks until their claims were paid.[3] Macready's deficiencies even in matters of his private finances are revealed in a diary entry for 24 November 1846, in which he admitted that 'I have received a large sum of money, of which, through ill-management, ignorance,

precipitancy, but chief and worst, a want of well-regulated economy, but little, alas! is left, and now my mind is ill at ease about the education and settlement of my beloved children'.[4]

Macready's man-management skills were unforgiving. Among his fellow actors he was notorious for his overbearing manner, violent temper, jealousy and insistence upon plays that focussed attention upon his own role. His penchant for revising plays to magnify his own part was so well known that it was the subject of a farce produced at Covent Garden in 1826 with Tyrone Power as Macready and Charles Kemble in the role of the unfortunate author. The artificial conditions created by the theatrical monopoly also gave Macready a privileged position in dealing with playwrights, since in most cases his opinion of the play as a vehicle for his own talents was the only tribunal available.[5]

Samuel Phelps's artistically successful and financially profitable theatre management career at Sadler's Wells between May 1844 and November 1862 ran parallel to that of Knowles (1842-1875). According to Booth, Phelps had served as an actor under Macready's management and had identified his shortcomings which he was determined not to repeat.[6] But even a successful manager like Phelps was not immune from financial misjudgements. In 1838, he had purchased a financial bond for a friend who immediately fell further into debt. To pay the obligation, Phelps was forced to borrow a considerable sum of money at forty-five percent interest but then found that his salary was insufficient to maintain the interest payments and to provide for his family. By May 1839, his affairs were in so desperate a state that he offered to leave the theatre to avoid the shame of a possible arrest. Macready – of all people – lent Phelps £50 to be repaid from his salary.[7]

Acting not as an altruistic visionary but as a disaffected, self-interested lessee, Macready inadvertently assisted Knowles and theatre managers around the country by setting in motion a chain of events which brought about the abolition of the 1737 Licencing Act which had limited the spoken drama to the patent theatres. Macready had initially supported the restriction of Shakespearean plays to the patent theatres and in 1832 had testified in support of the theatrical monopolies before Edward Bulwer-Lytton's Parliamentary Select Committee on Dramatic Literature. Macready argued that such monopolies were necessary as their repeal would disperse good quality actors over many theatres and the 'public would suffer in consequence of the efficient companies being broken up'.[8] But in his farewell speech at Drury Lane on 14 June 1843, an angry and embittered Macready attacked the owners of the patent houses as being 'persons utterly unacquainted with the drama, and all appertaining to the dramatic arts'.[9] He continued by claiming that the current system was an obstacle to the development of Shakespeare performances because 'the holders of their patents are themselves unable to present the glorious works of Shakespeare to an English audience, and yet are armed by the law with the power to forbid their representation elsewhere'.[10]

During the final week of his management at Drury Lane, Macready enlisted the help of the parliamentary draftsman to the government, John Bethune, to draft a petition for the repeal of the theatrical monopoly. The tone of this petition reflected the angry and personal theme of his farewell speech by attacking the patent holders: 'They are armed by law with the power to prevent your Petitioner from exercising his art and calling in any other theatre'.[11] His about-turn was full of spite and motivated more by his failure to obtain the lesseeship of Drury Lane than by any altruistic desire to reform the theatre. Lord Glengall said that Macready's petition was 'more marked by self-sufficiency, self-conceit and vanity than any petition ever

presented to the House'.[12] Nevertheless, the press reported that 'Mr. Macready was the last and best friend that these patents had… They are doomed at last. Nothing can save them'.[13] Nine weeks after his meeting with Bethune, Parliament abolished the patent theatre system, passing the Theatres Act which received Royal Assent on 22 August 1843.

One immediate effect of the Theatres Act was to open the doors of the minor theatres to the legitimate drama and to actor-managers who would benefit from the new freedoms.[14] Under the terms of the Act, the Lord Chamberlain could now only forbid performances of plays where he believed that 'it is fitting for the preservation of good manners, decorum or of the public peace so to do'.[15] Local authorities could now license theatres, breaking the monopoly of the patent theatres and stimulating the evolution of novel types of venue such as saloon theatres attached to public houses. This forced change upon those theatres which had enjoyed a monopoly and, according to Adrian Poole, 'Covent Garden abandoned the struggle and reopened in 1847 as the Grand Italian Opera House' so that 'after 1843, you could see Shakespeare at a vastly wider range of venues, with names such as Astley's, the Adelphi, the Grecian, the Marylebone, the Olympic, the Queen's and the Victoria'.[16] Davis suggests that before the passage of the act the theatre rested 'ambivalently in the terrain of the social *and* the commercial' whereas after its passage, theatre became 'irrefutably commercial no matter how much it retained the overtones of a socially oriented institution'.[17] I will demonstrate the truth of this statement by reference to the financial successes of Knowles but I will also qualify it by showing how his philanthropic activities demonstrated that his theatre remained socially orientated.

Having provided two examples of managers who struggled to achieve financial stability, in this section I describe Knowles's theatre management career in Manchester. Knowles's career commenced with his lesseeship and management of the second Theatre Royal in Fountain Street from 24 December 1842 until its destruction by fire on 7 May 1844 and continued with his proprietorship of the new Theatre Royal in Peter Street from its opening on 29 December 1845 until the final performances under his management in March 1875. (It is also a testament to Knowles's boldness that he embarked upon his management career while the 1737 Licensing Act was still in force.) He was born into a family without any theatrical connections yet it provided an ideal environment in which he could develop his competitive nature, his drive to innovate and his rigorous approach to financial management.

His father, also known as John Knowles, was a stagecoach proprietor with an office in the Peacock public house at 105 Market Street who ran the *Peveril of the Peak* stagecoach (named after the fortification which stands high above Castleton, a town which lay on the stagecoach route between Manchester and London) from the Peacock and Mosley Arms public houses in Manchester to London via Derby, Leicester and Northampton (illustration 4.1). At an early age (though at exactly what age is unknown), Knowles succeeded to his father's business and put himself in competition with other stagecoach services of the period (the *Royal Mail*, the *Defiance*, the *Patent Tally-Ho!*, the *Bang Up* and the *Independent*) 'with considerable success'. In fact, his determination to outdo his rivals was so great that he frequently drove the *Peveril of the Peak* and once made a wager that he would drive the coach from Manchester to London without leaving his box-seat, 'a feat which those acquainted with the determination of Mr. Knowles say he triumphantly accomplished'.[18]

In addition to being a successful stagecoach proprietor, his father had been a coal and stone merchant and owned a company manufacturing marble chimney pieces with business premises at 1 Ducie Street and an office at his residence, 49 Piccadilly. Just as he had successfully developed his father's stagecoach enterprise, so Knowles demonstrated similar innovation and enterprise in his father's marble business by taking out, in association with the builder Edward Taylor Bellhouse, several patents for moulding the edges of marble slabs for tables and mantlepieces. Outside Manchester, Knowles was the proprietor of corn and flour mills in Nuneaton which his two younger sons, John and Joseph, managed while he superintended his theatrical interests. His obituary notice praised his approach to his commercial interests: 'In all his business pursuits he was eminently practical and decisive and as a director of companies his shrewd common sense was diligently exerted in the interest of shareholders he represented'.[19]

Although his family provided an ideal grounding for a business career, there is no evidence of any theatrical involvement at all, though this account of his father's appearance at the first race meeting at Heaton Park on 25 September 1827 indicates he may have been something of an entertainer with a competitive streak: 'The finest turnout was that of Mr. John Knowles, the stage-coach proprietor…Mr. Knowles' turnout on this occasion consisted of six beautiful piebalds'.[20]

To assess his innovative approach to theatre management, I will describe the problems encountered by the previous lessees of the Theatre Royal and how financial arrangements had traditionally favoured the proprietors at the expense of the lessees. Constructed between 1806 and 1807 by Edward Taylor Bellhouse and Company, the theatre had been funded by a

company of proprietors in shares for a net sum of £11,212 with additional payments 'for the various matters not included in the original agreement and which are inseparable from the completion of any building of magnitude'. The yearly chief rent on the land occupied by this building was £180. 13s. 9d. at the rate of 1s. 9d. per square yard. The premises were held for a term of two thousand years commencing on 24 February 1806, a term sufficiently long to justify the construction on this site of a group of valuable and substantial buildings.[21]

This Theatre Royal opened under the lesseeship and management of William Macready, father of the actor-manager of that name, on 12 June 1807 with the comedies *Folly as it Flies* and *Rosina*. Macready paid a rent of £2,000 a year which comprised a net rent to the proprietors of £1,600 a year, the chief rent on the land and the insurance on the building of about £100 a year. He also farmed the proprietors' tickets for £300 a year which produced about £400 so his aggregate annual payments were £2,200. The theatre when he took it was not furnished with scenery or machinery so he incurred considerable expense in fitting it out with all the necessary equipment. Unfortunately, the theatre proved to be too large for the audiences it could attract and was generally unsuited to the dramatic needs of the town, so the venture proved to be an unremunerative speculation. He paid just over a year's rent and the proprietors took the scenery, machinery, apparatus and fittings which he had installed as payment for the arrears of rent due from him. Hence all the subsequent lessees had the benefit of these items which remained the property of the proprietors until the destruction of the theatre in May 1844. Even then, the proprietors received a portion of the insurance – the stage and machinery £900 and scenery £700.[22]

Between 1810 and 1828, the theatre was let to Lewis, Ward, Banks and Knight as joint lessees. It is an indication of the troubled state of theatres in the town that the net rent was reduced to £900 and the lessees paid the ground rent as before. In March 1820, the lessees insisted that the proprietors made some exterior repairs but, having completed the work, they raised the rent to £915 from that date.[23] After it had remained empty and unlet for about six months, the actor-manager William Roxby Beverley became lessee in September 1828 at a further reduced net annual rent of £800. The total of his half-yearly payments including chief rent and insurance amounted to £535. 18s. 10d. and he also farmed the proprietors' tickets for the use of which he paid £204 *per annum*. In January 1831, Beverley announced a season of legitimate drama with Phelps as leading actor but the season lasted only three weeks. Neither the strength of the combined companies of Liverpool and Manchester nor the engagement of Phelps attracted sufficient audiences to support the theatre.[24] He remained at the theatre until March 1831 – a period of two and a half years – but he was unable to pay all of the arrears due from him.[25]

The next lessee was Lewis, who already been a joint lessee with other parties for eighteen years from 1810, but now he leased the theatre alone. He commenced his lesseeship in March 1831 at an unchanged rental of £800, the proprietors retaining their tickets. In 1834, the old box lobby was removed and converted into a warehouse and, as the size of the theatre had been reduced, the proprietors discounted the rent to £700, which he continued to pay until the close of his term in December 1840. Robert Clarke, who had been manager of the theatre for some time, held the lesseeship from December 1840 to December 1841 and then retired from both duties, paying the same reduced rent of £700. In December 1841, the joint lesseeship of W. J. Hammond and Anderson commenced. They occupied the theatre for twelve months for

which they were to pay a rent of £800 but the proprietors received a little under half that amount.[26]

Knowles was the theatre's next and final lessee, his lesseeship commencing in December 1843 and continuing until the theatre's destruction by fire on 7 May 1844. Booth points out that a manager rarely owned his theatre but instead leased it from the owner who in turn paid ground rent to the landholder. The lessee was 'usually obliged to pay rates, taxes and insurance and to leave all fixtures and a stock of scenery, costumes and properties behind him when the lease was terminated'.[27] The lessee was forced to take a big gamble, the owner a far lesser one. As someone who wanted to be in the driving seat (literally, in the case of his stage-coach career), one might have expected him to insist on becoming the proprietor thus giving him complete control of the theatre's management and avoiding the risks described above. However, as a financially astute business person, he would also have been aware of the risks and liabilities involved in owning a now elderly building, in need of repair and with high ongoing maintenance costs. Consequently, he decided to be the lessee instead but on terms more favourable than those negotiated by any previous lessee. He was contracted to pay an annual rent of £700 – the joint lowest of any lessee – and to have the use of the proprietors' tickets at £300 a year – the highest income of any lessee – while his liabilities were reduced by insisting that the proprietors pay both the insurance and the chief rent. As a considerable outlay was required to fund the refurbishment of the interior of the house, the proprietors agreed to refund Knowles half a year's rent and to contribute £500 towards the cost of the internal improvements. Knowles expended about £1000 on the works. Thus, Knowles had created for the first time a business model which promised to be sustainable and profitable for the full term of his lease.[28]

An examination of the financial affairs of the business indicates that Knowles was wise to avoid ownership of the theatre. The original cost of its construction in 1806 - 1807 had been £11,212 increased by additional work to £12,000 and the proprietors expended on the building and site at least £20,000. Their loss, in unpaid rent alone, was about £2,500 to say nothing of the loss of rent during the intervals when the theatre remained unlet. It is likely that the proprietors' dividends were very meagre and that the net rent of £700 would not have paid them the equivalent of ordinary interest on their investment. The chief rent on the plot of land upon which the theatre stood was about 1s. 9d. a yard yet for ordinary building purposes the land in that situation would have been worth 10s. or 12s. a yard so a much larger rental could have been earned from the construction of warehouses erected on the site. And so it proved, following the destruction of the theatre by fire on the morning of 7 May 1844.[29]

Unsurprisingly, the proprietors were extremely averse to rebuilding another theatre on the site as they could dispose of the land for more lucrative purposes so Knowles was forced to rebuild the theatre in another location as announced in the London press:

> Mr. John Knowles *jun*.…has purchased the land and buildings formerly occupied as the Wellington Hotel and Carriage Bazaar, situated in Peter Street. Messrs. Irwin and Chester, the architects, are engaged in making designs for the new theatre, the internal decorations of which are to be in the style of François Premier. The estimated cost is £17,000 and every effort will be made to enable the proprietor to open at Christmas next.[30]

In little over sixteen months, the third Theatre Royal was constructed at a cost of about £23,000 and opened on 29 September 1845 with Knowles as sole manager and owner. No

shareholders were invited to invest in the business. According to a local press report, its 'elegant proportions and brilliant decorations' made it 'the most beautiful theatre in the United Kingdom'.[31] It was a bold speculation for one person to undertake, one report observing that 'the great perseverance, known business ability, spirited enterprise and large expenditure of the proprietor are…unexampled in the annals of theatres'.[32] During the construction of the theatre, some of Knowles's friends raised £130 for the purchase of a silver plate, which was presented to him at a dinner given at the Queen's Hotel on 15 July 1844. The plate bore the following inscription: '*Presented to John Knowles, jun., Esq.,…in acknowledgment of his energetic and successful efforts to revive the national drama in Manchester*'.[33]

Knowles chose this site as it was in the centre of the town, near a concert hall and the museum of the Natural History Society. It also stood detached from other buildings and so provided good access all round. (This free-standing location anticipated the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan which promoted rapid egress from the building via at least two doorways in the event of fire, though in this case, this benefit was probably unintentional.) As a progressive manager, Knowles wished to incorporate as many of the recent improvements in the construction and adaptation of theatres as possible, not merely for aesthetic reasons but to enable the audience to experience the sights and sounds of a production to best effect and to ensure that the structure could create and sustain a viable business. Knowles and Francis Chester, the architect he had employed to refurbish the previous Theatre Royal, travelled to London and visited most of the theatres there, assessing their capacity, internal layouts and acoustic characteristics. They paid attention to the overall size of the building – too much capacity or too little would affect the new theatre's profitability. (I provide details of the

theatre's dimensions, seating capacity and potential revenue in appendix 2). Knowles even built his own tavern as a separate but adjoining structure as serving alcoholic drinks in a theatre was then illegal (illustration 1.13).[34]

Mindful that he, as proprietor, was liable for the maintenance of the building and that the previous Theatre Royal had been destroyed by fire, Knowles took the innovative step of specifying that a water tank with a capacity of 22,000 gallons [100,014 litres] be installed on the roof and linked by pipes to the stage and the green room. These pipes had connections to which canvas hoses could be attached in the event of fire. The tank was replenished by rainwater diverted into it from the asphalted roof. Chester spent day and night at the theatre's construction site and 'his devotion was well rewarded in the production of, even now [1882], unquestionably the finest place of theatrical amusement in the kingdom'. The project attracted the attention of Macready who wrote in his diary: '1845, April 3. Called at Messrs. Irwin and Chester's, architects of the new theatre, and went from there to the theatre, where I found Mr. Chester…who showed me the plans and went with me into the building. It interested me very much, in reference to our hope of something similar in London'.[35] Knowles had placed Manchester in the vanguard of British theatre design.

If Knowles's approach to theatre building was forward-looking, then his management of it was determined but disciplined and pragmatic, free of egotism with a willingness to delegate to those who he felt were more skilled in certain areas. Written in 1880, an article contrasted his managerial style with that of a previous manager:

> '[t]he "Great Wizard of the North" (J.H. Anderson) … would persistently "come to the front" whether he was wanted or not…Mr. Knowles elected strictly speaking to take his place "behind the scenes" and was little known in connection with the theatre at the "front". But, with his usual discernment, he selected for his *chef* that admirable comedian and accomplished stage manager, the late Robert Roxby, who proved the "right man in the right place"'.[36]

Knowles's determination to succeed led to him being given the nickname 'mun-be-done', denoting his repudiation of the impossible. During the preparations for *As You Like It* in 1842, a delay arose which seemed to render it impossible for the play to be given on the night announced for its performance, but Knowles announced 'It mun be done'.[37] Rignold (illustration 3.11) recalled that, while working for Knowles, he had been accorded a benefit during the pantomime season and had prepared an elaborate programme including *Faust et Marguerite* by the French librettist Michel Carré. However, the stage manager complained that he could not manipulate the scenery for the pantomime and for Rignold's programme at the same time. 'Mun-be-done, mun-be-done', was Knowles's emphatic cry, 'What's the use of giving the chap a benefit if he can't play what he likes'.[38]

A contemporary newspaper report offered the view that 'The manager of the "Royal" seems to have conceived a penchant for arrogating to himself the part of a despot.'[39] Indeed, Knowles was no respecter of reputation if that obstructed theatrical business. The acclaimed actor Barry Sullivan sent him a letter dated 24 February 1849: 'My dear Sir – What with being continually called upon to perform in melodramas and farces, in open violation of my engagement…I feel overwhelmed with unmerited annoyance, and therefore beg to tender you

my resignation, to terminate in one month from this date, or a fortnight at your pleasure'.[40] At least one correspondent was sympathetic towards Knowles, claiming that 'Country managers have no sinecures…Mr. Knowles found Mr. Sullivan to be troublesome and was quite right in getting rid of him as he best could'.[41] But Knowles would not bear a grudge if it were good for business. By 1855, both had been reconciled and were working together again, Sullivan performing at the Theatre Royal on 2 June 1855 in *As You Like It*.[42]

Two days before the Theatre Royal opened, the *Manchester Times* printed, 'AN ADDRESS, Supposed to be spoken at the Opening of the New Theatre Royal, Manchester, September 29, 1845'. (The full version of the address, written by the local poet, Charles Kenworthy, did not appear in book form until it was published as part of a collection of his poetry in 1847.) This poem proposed that the Theatre Royal should be no less than Manchester's own Shakespeare theatre:

> Immortal Shakespeare ! poet of all time.
> Here may his genius consecrate the place,
> And add a grandeur to its native grace;
> Long may it stand, to spread his matchless fame,
> "*The Shakespeare Theatre*", its future name.[43]

Although there is no evidence that Knowles or anyone else involved in its construction regarded the Theatre Royal as a specifically Shakespearean theatre, a statue of the poet carved in Carrara marble was placed in a niche above the pedimented main entrance on Peter Street (illustration 1.14). Knowles wished to associate his theatre and Manchester itself with high rather than low drama. However the misshapen nature of the statue (the story is that Knowles asked one of the masons, probably more adept at fashioning mantelpieces, at his marble works to sculpt it) moved an anonymous poet to write 'LINES *On the installation of something like Shakespeare's Image in front of the Theatre Royal, Manchester, (by P.C.)'*.[44]

(See Appendix 1 for the full text). Nevertheless, the statue recalled the Martin Droeshout engraving, which graced the frontispiece of the First Folio collection of plays published in 1623, and the funerary monument in Stratford-upon-Avon's Holy Trinity Church, both of which had become the most distinctive trademarks of the Shakespeare 'brand'. As Shaughnessy points out, the high forehead, depicted in the portrait and the monument and replicated in Manchester's statue, 'bespeaks his work's connection with intellectuality and elite culture'. Also, the unadorned and naïve nature of these artefacts 'accord with Shakespeare's reputation as a natural genius whose work has its roots not in study but in God-given talent'. Making Shakespeare the trademark of the Theatre Royal suggested the promise of 'a vicarious experience of elitism, a taste of the cultural good life and the intimation of upward social mobility'.[45] To consolidate this promise, Knowles took a deliberate policy decision to place Shakespeare's plays at the heart of his annual programme, despite his plays having a reputation for being expensive to produce and unprofitable. I do not propose to analyse every production of a Shakespeare play produced at the Theatre Royal during Knowles's tenure, but instead I will select some examples to illustrate the improvement in the quality of productions which occurred around 1853.

Early productions were politely received but not ground-breaking, though I am reliant on newspaper reviews which were themselves basic and unsophisticated (the example below even includes an error in a character's name – Hermina for Hermione) and compromised by available space in the newspaper, the *Era* being obliged to cover theatrical activity in the whole country. This review of *The Winter's Tale* of 18 May 1853 merely consisted of a cast list: 'Miss [Helena] Faucit … for the first time as Hermina [*sic*]. Mr. Swinbourn was Leontes; and the parts of Polixenes, the Clown, and Autolycus, were consigned to Messrs. Rae, Swan

and Wood', followed by a brief remark that 'the performance was impressively accomplished'. On the same day, *The Taming of the Shrew* was performed and again the review offered a brief assessment accompanied by a cast list: 'Mr. [John] Vandenhoff as the van Amburgh of the piece, and Mrs. R. Gordon as Catherine, that part, we suppose, being out of Miss Faucit's line. Mr. Wood was Grumio and all the characters were well sustained'.[46]

For the performance of *Othello* of 16 July 1853, we are furnished with a more considered assessment of the actors, starting with the experienced Vandenhoff whose Iago was described as 'a wonderful study' while Thomas Swinbourn, a young and rising actor, 'showed that he was impressed with a desire to emulate the magnificent elocution of the senior in his craft whom he was acting in concert with'. The other parts 'were well filled'.[47] A review of *Hamlet* from 24 July 1853 illustrates that Knowles had achieved self-sufficiency and a strong management style which empowered his company to satisfy both public expectations and the requirements of his own business model: 'During the week, the very efficient stock company, which Mr. Knowles now has under his command, have, without any extraneous aid, been entertaining the play-going public of Manchester'.[48]

However, the production of *Henry VIII* the following month was something of a setback and provoked a review that was bold in its criticism of the production. Most damning of all is the comment that the play itself was overshadowed by its after-piece:

> The Bluebeard king was personated by Mr. Harker very indifferently – the noble text of Shakespeare, it came in husky but rapid gusts from his mouth, being all but unintelligible…The valedictory of Wolsey to his fading glory was given more as a

> piece of stormy declamation…The sorrows of Queen Katharine…were soon forgotten in the joy of the after piece, *High Life Below Stairs*.[49]

Knowles could have abandoned the attempt to bring Shakespeare to the stage of his theatre but instead he decided to improve the preparations for his next production – *Macbeth* – which had been 'twelve months in the making'.[50] The review of *Macbeth's* opening night on 17 April 1854 indicates how far the appetite of the Mancunian audience for Shakespearean productions had increased and how successfully Knowles's theatre was equipped to satisfy it:

> However great the expectations of the playgoing public might have been, and however great the curiosity which had possessed them in looking forward from time to time for the first representation in Manchester of the illustrated revival of *Macbeth*, these expectations, and this curiosity were fully met last night and satisfied on Monday night.[51]

Knowles's revised approach anticipated that taken by Calvert in the production of his revivals at the Prince's Theatre a decade later. More time and greater expenditure were devoted to rehearsals, an original musical score was commissioned from the composer and conductor Edward James Loder, Knowles's musical director since 1851, and, recognising that he could no longer operate 'without extraneous help', he enlisted outside assistance to design and install the scenery which, along with the costumes, exhibited an attempt to achieve historical accuracy. This review was full of praise for this approach:

> After a most lavish expense in the "mounting", &c., &c., careful rehearsals, and every other demonstration of superior and refined taste which characterises the management of this theatre, *Macbeth* was produced, and from the demonstrations of one of the most crowded audiences we have ever witnessed within these walls, astonished and delighted them; the music re-arranged, and the new overture and *entr'acte* music composed expressly by Mr. Loder. The scenery by Messrs. Bickerstaff, Holding and Muir is all we could possible desire; every scene merits praise; the properties, costumes, &c., all tending faithfully to represent the period'.[52]

The scenery was compared favourably with the work of the most eminent theatrical artists of the day though some regional bias may be at play here: 'In the "set scenes" the massive interiors were architecturally arranged, and the colouring of the scenery was more like the production of Rembrandt than of Grieve or Telbin'.[53] Knowles also supplemented his stock company with a mix of new and established actors from the capital and the provinces: 'The cast was good introducing many new and favourite actors, Macbeth and Macduff alternating between Mr. Swinbourn and Mr. T. Mead, being his first appearance here…met with a very flattering reception. The metropolitan experience which this gentleman has had justifies us in stating that he earned well the plaudits which were bestowed upon him'.[54]

This was a landmark production for a Shakespeare play in Manchester combining for the first time in the city, a long run (spanning forty days from 17 April 1854 to 26 May 1854 compared with Macready's average of 8.5 days in London – see table 6) and exclusivity of scheduling (no other plays were performed on the same day and there were no musical interludes or afterpieces) which in turn allowed a fuller version of the play to be performed.

These features were confirmed in this review: 'With undiminished attraction, *Macbeth* continues to be the sole performance here, all the hitches which were observed on the first few representations are removed…and the nightly demonstration in its favour must be greatly encouraging'.[55] Schoch describes the long run as '…the chief managerial innovation which can be attributed to Kean's stewardship of the Princess's [theatre]'.[56] Knowles's run of forty performances in a provincial theatre stands comparison with Kean's productions in London whose *King John* of 1852 ran for sixty performances and whose *Macbeth* was repeated fifty-four times in 1853.[57] For Knowles and later for Calvert, the long run was a necessity as, according to Booth, 'There was only one way of paying for and profiting from productions of this magnitude of expenditure and that was…the long run'.[58] Although the production costs of Knowles's *Macbeth* would have been high, these costs were offset in some measure by exclusivity of scheduling which removed the need to spruce up an evening's entertainment with musical interludes and afterpieces.

*Macbeth* also benefited from the top-class musicians whom Knowles had engaged from an early stage of his management. His first musical director at the third Theatre Royal had been Charles A. Seymour who had previously been the leader of the orchestra at the Manchester Concert Hall.[59] Seymour established his reputation with events such as the first performance in Manchester of *Oberon*, a work by the German composer Carl Maria von Weber, sung in the original English on 11 May 1847.[60] The reasons for Seymour's departure from the theatre are unknown, although the *Manchester Guardian* claimed that he had been 'most unworthily supplanted'. But it was the arrival of his successor, Edward Loder, that increased the prestige of the theatre's orchestra and established its reputation for musical excellence. A preview for the 1851 - 1852 season stated that a chorus had been selected from London and Manchester

which would be 'trained and drilled under the direction of Mr. Loder'.[61] Loder's direction began with a fortnight-long season of Italian opera starting on 4 October 1851 followed by a season of English opera, running from 20 October to 20 December 1851, the longest opera season ever held at the theatre.[62] For the Easter 1854 production of *Macbeth*, Loder oversaw 'the whole of Locke's fine music [which] is to be given by a chorus some forty or fifty strong'.[63] Loder composed an overture for the performances as well as a series of *entr'actes* to introduce each of the last four acts of the play. The first *entr'acte* had 'some wild Scottish music, and the whole well foreshadows the horror and confusion of the murder so soon to be enacted'.[64] Another reviewer wrote that 'The overture links together a number of melodies, afterwards scattered with a graceful and picturesque hand throughout the progress of the piece'. The music was used in all twenty-four performances of the run.[65]

If Knowles's management of his Theatre Royal did much to raise the standing of the drama in Manchester, then his philanthropic activities were a public demonstration that the stage and commerce could be forces for good. The increasing number of charities in Manchester required prominent local people to serve as officeholders and patrons. Their involvement with these charities conferred on them the status of socially responsible and morally upstanding men, elevating some into so-called 'Manchester men', public figures perceived as being well-educated, refined and altruistic individuals. Newspaper reports describing charity events and meetings typically included the names of these officials thus forging a publicly visible association between the individual and the charity. The more charities an individual was associated with, the higher their charitable profile and the higher their social standing.

In Manchester forging these public associations was a well-established process. In 1653, the textile merchant and financier, Sir Humphrey Chetham, founded a trust for the establishment of a library, school and hospital. Robert Needham Philips, a prominent merchant and later Member of Parliament for Bury, was described as 'a true type of the Manchester man…a fine old English gentleman in all respects'.[66] A study of the literature devoted to Manchester philanthropists will reveal other names such as the banker Oliver Heywood but Knowles is absent. Perhaps overlooked because of his association with the theatre, he nevertheless demonstrated all the traits of a 'Manchester Man' from an early stage in his career.

His decision in 1844 to demolish the Wellington Hotel and Carriage Bazaar on Peter Street to make way for his Theatre Royal threatened to deprive the Hargreaves Choral Society of their venue which they initially refused to vacate as they lacked alternative accommodation. To resolve this problem, Knowles paid for the society to use the Free Trade Hall for their concerts and rehearsals for the same rental and incidental charges which the committee had been paying at their previous venue while the greater capacity of their new venue allowed the society to increase its membership from 380 to 569. Benefitting from the consequent increased income, the committee spent £840. 14s. 6d. on orchestra fees compared to £579 in the previous season and arrangements were made for the rental of the Free Trade Hall for the next season's concerts. However, the society was very mindful of the need to maintain the quality of its membership: 'A much greater increase might have been made but your committee…consented to admit those only who were likely to maintain its high character'.[67]

In addition to his support of the arts, Knowles helped less fortunate members of society. In May 1852, at the twenty-fourth meeting of the Dispensary for Children, it was announced

that the total annual income arising from subscriptions amounted to £60 and that it was necessary to increase the number of its subscribers to preserve the existence of the institution. Shortly after that meeting the treasurer received a donation of £55 from Knowles as a result of which, at the twenty-fifth annual meeting held in June 1853, Mr Woolley, the secretary, was able to announce that 'To review the progress of the Children's Dispensary during the past year has been to the compilers of this report a more pleasing task than can have fallen to the lot of their predecessors for many years'.[68] Knowles's generosity extended to John Bolton Rogerson, an amateur actor, who had served as president of the Manchester Shakespearean Society and who had been for a brief period on the staff of the Theatre Royal. He had been appointed registrar of the Manchester cemetery in Harpurhey in 1849, but in early 1855 chronic rheumatism prevented him from continuing his duties there. An annuity fund was set up in his name and at a meeting of the committee at the Athenæum held on 23 March 1855, the secretary stated that Knowles had 'with characteristic liberality, offered the gratuitous use of the Theatre Royal for one evening in Passion Week, for the proposed concert on behalf of the fund'.[69]

Knowles's philanthropic activities eventually extended well beyond Manchester. At a public meeting held on 21 July 1858 at the Princess's Theatre in London, it was announced that five acres of freehold land in Maybury Common, Woking was available for the construction of the Royal Dramatic College comprising several houses for elderly actors. Knowles is listed as a subscriber paying £10. 10s. 0d.[70] In a report dated 4 March 1860, we learn that Knowles made an even more generous donation to this cause: '…the tenth and last house has been presented by John Knowles, Esq.…Now this crowning act of generosity of Mr. Knowles adds an unusual interest to this prosperous charity'.[71]

Knowles even fostered good relations between Britain and Germany by assisting a performance that was being produced in another venue in Manchester. The performance of *Wallenstein's Lager* which formed part of the 1859 Manchester Schiller Festival necessitated the construction of a stage in the Free Trade Hall and this 'was most effectively done through the joint labours of Mr. F. Salomons, architect, Mr, John Knowles of the Theatre Royal and Mr. J. A. Hammersley, headmaster of our school of art'.[72] It was not only Knowles who freely gave of his own time; he used his influence to persuade members of his stock company and leading actors from around the country to devote their time to good causes. For five nights commencing on 7 June 1852, Knowles presented a series of dramatic festival performances, the receipts from which were distributed among some fifteen local charities. Knowles's own company was joined by distinguished actors and musicians such as Helena Faucit, John Vandenhoff, Sullivan, Loder and Charles Hallé, rendering the whole undertaking an artistic and a financial success. When Knowles offered the actor Charles Dillon travelling expenses, Dillon declined to accept any payment, remarking that 'he was only too gratified to be able to contribute, however small the amount, to such noble objects as that which Mr. Knowles had in view'.[73]

After a decade of theatre ownership, Knowles had developed a reputation for excellent financial management, achievement of high production values and philanthropy, all of which improved the reputation of his theatre, of the drama in general and of the town in which he operated. These achievements were acknowledged in the *Era* which held Knowles up as a model manager whose approach to management should be copied elsewhere:

> But, come to the absolute and undeniable truth, would the cause of the drama…be likely to advance or recede, if every important town in England had a manager in it of such business habits and means as Mr. John Knowles of Manchester? Would prompt payments, honourable punctuality in salaries, excellent arrangements, pieces most correctly put on the stage, and presented to the public, cause the drama to rise or fall?[74]

Desiring to build on these artistic, financial and philanthropic successes, Knowles's next significant decision was to recruit Calvert in 1859 to manage his Theatre Royal, a decision I discuss further in the first part of chapter 5.

## CHAPTER 4 - GEORGE DAWSON, THE CIVIC GOSPEL AND SHAKESPEARE

In this chapter I introduce George Dawson and explain how he came to be invited to Manchester to promote his Civic Gospel. I then describe the landscape of private and public societies in Manchester before his arrival, the Athenæum's initial enthusiasm for him and its eventual rejection of him. I explore his use of Shakespeare's works as a component of his Civic Gospel and how effective he was at embedding them into the consciousness of the people of Manchester.

In 1844, Dawson became minister of Birmingham's Mount Zion Baptist Chapel where his eloquence and radical beliefs rapidly attracted a large following. He was initially regarded with suspicion by fellow Baptist ministers because of his divergent theology but he soon appeared at public meetings outside the church setting, delivering a series of lectures at the Polytechnic Institute in January 1845, for example. His promotion of the Civic Gospel inspired public figures such as the Liberal stateman Joseph Chamberlain who, as Lord Mayor and later Member of Parliament for Birmingham, placed the city in the vanguard of municipal and national Liberalism. At the same time, Dawson became one of the most prominent British lecturers, drawing huge crowds throughout the country to his lectures on a wide range of subjects. According to Fernie. 'No Victorian sage in their own lifetime did anything like as much to fashion an actual fairer and more variously and vividly alive social order from the cultural and religious inheritance of the past; Karl Marx certainly didn't'.[1]

What was Dawson's Civic Gospel? In Fernie's words, 'Dawson transfused the passion and mission of religion into contemporary civic life, providing a new model for municipal government'.[2] Dawson believed that 'a town exists…for moral and intellectual purposes' and

that ‘a city must have its parks as well as its prisons, its art gallery as well as its asylum…[and] must think of beauty and of dignity no less than of order and of health’.[3] How did Dawson employ the works of Shakespeare in his Civic Gospel? To quote Fernie again: ‘The radical Dawson found a spirit of tolerance in Shakespeare that transcended tolerance as a predicate and principal of one particular party, portending a higher, richer and more varied form of social solidarity. This was his specifically Shakesperean gospel’.[4]

Moreover, Dawson believed that he could employ Shakespeare’s works as a Bible for the Victorian age: ‘the newest Bible, the sweetest, truest teachings of the truths of the future that the world ever had’.[5] Dawson translated his Shakespearean gospel into practical action in Birmingham via his ‘Our Shakespeare’ club, members of which, believing that Shakespeare could guide modern municipal government, entered public office – eleven sat on the Town Council and five had seats in Parliament.[6] Moreover, he believed that Shakespeare and artefacts associated with him should be available to all citizens, declaring that ‘The time has come to give everything to everybody…gifts of genius should be like sunshine, open to all, for all, to be reached by all, and ultimately to be understood and enjoyed by all’.[7] Dawson made Shakespeare available to all via the establishment of Birmingham’s Shakespeare Memorial Library, the world’s first great public Shakespeare library, which opened in 1882.

As for Manchester, Shakespeare’s works had been employed by radical politicians based in the north of England before Dawson’s arrival there. Especially enthusiastic were the Chartists who regarded Shakespeare as an opponent of selfish commercial interests, of the exploitation of the working class and of abuses of power. On 2 May 1840 the *Northern Star*, a chartist newspaper based in Leeds, cited *Coriolanus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Henry IV* and *King John* as

precedents for nineteenth-century attempts at reform. *Coriolanus* spoke strongly to Chartist activists preoccupied by the rising price of grain and its effect on the poor. One newspaper's *Chartism from Shakespeare* column reproduced these words from the play:

> Suffer us to famish, and their warehouses crammed with grain; make edicts for usury to support usurers; repeal daily any wholesome act established against the rich; and provide more piercing statutes daily, to chain up and restrain the poor. (1.1.71-74)[8]

Shakespeare provided words for people like the Chartist John Watkins who quoted Isabella's lines from *Measure for Measure* to describe the attitude of the police and judiciary during his imprisonment in 1839:

> Drest in a little brief authority,
> Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
> As makes the angels weep and mortals laugh.(2.2.121,124-125)[9]

Such enthusiasm for Shakespeare also explains the presentation of a full set of his plays in an engraved and monogrammed box to the Chartist leader George Julius Harney following his trial in 1843 for his involvement in the Plug Plot Riots in Preston.[10]

But there is nothing in the history of learned societies in Manchester to suggest that they would willingly engage in radical politics by inviting Dawson to speak even if quoting Shakespeare. Since its inception in March 1781, members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society delivered papers devoted to science and philosophy which were subsequently published in the society's journal *Memoirs*. By 1845, 95 percent of all papers

published in *Memoirs* had discussed scientific subjects.[11] A similar situation existed at the Royal Manchester Institution where an analysis of papers delivered between 1835 and 1859 reveals a preponderance of scientific themes – seventy-one papers compared to forty devoted to the arts – with a mere seven dedicated to literature.[12] Despite this scientific bias, some members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society espoused radical views. Manchester's leading parliamentary reformer and anti-slavery campaigner, Thomas Walker, described some of his more progressive fellow members thus: 'Dr Ferriar… was an excellent doctor with advanced ideas…Samuel Jackson, a progressive cotton merchant; Thomas Cooper…a dynamic personality whose bitingly witty pen was constantly in action against obscurantism and reaction'.[13] Unfortunately, this society was not well placed to implement reforms as, from the outset, it had been a narrow and elitist organisation, applications being determined by ballot so that by 1842 its membership still numbered only 142.

To explain how Dawson found a welcoming reception in the respectable societies of Manchester, I now examine the establishment of two organisations whose agendas were inclusive and geared to the teaching of a broader range of subjects – the Manchester Mechanics' Institute (illustration 2.1) and the Athenæum (illustrations 2.2 and 2.3).

On 7 April 1824, a group of men from the financial and industrial sectors met in the Bridgewater Arms on High Street to establish a Mechanics' Institute where artisans could be taught the basic principles of science by part-time study, although the sciences were initially limited to mechanics and chemistry. The opening words of the institute's rules set out its inclusive and innovative agenda:

> The Manchester Mechanics' Institute is formed for the purpose of enabling Mechanics and Artisans, of whatever trade they may be, to become acquainted with such branches of science as are of practical application to the exercise of the trade; that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be qualified to make improvements and even new inventions in the Arts which they respectively profess.[14]

Later, the Institute became more receptive to non-scientific studies in response to an urgent need to improve its financial position which, despite support from the business and financial communities, had become precarious. In 1831, classes in landscape, figure and ornamental drawing were introduced and by 1836 its financial situation has stabilised with receipts of £2,173. 14s. 7d., expenditure of £2,092. 16s. 2d. and a balance of £80. 18s. 5d.[15] At the end of that year the Institute had 1526 subscribers – ten times that of the Literary and Philosophical Society – of which 131 were under fourteen years of age, 626 between fourteen and twenty-one and 769 above twenty-one years of age.[16] Of the 85 lectures delivered during 1836, 11 were non-scientific[17] and art-related classes were well attended - grammar - 91 students, elocution and composition - 21, Latin - 12, writing - 80, French - 26. Only arithmetic with 104 students was better attended. By 1840 'more than half of the lectures were on such subjects as poetry, travel, elocution, drama and history'.[18]

To understand the origin of the Athenæum, it is necessary to step back some twenty years and examine the activities of a group of political reformers known as the Little Circle who, between 1812 and 1846, organised debates about political issues and influenced public opinion in Manchester. Members were drawn from local commercial establishments such as

cotton and textile manufacturers and merchants, lawyers and journalists. Richard Potter, a cotton manufacturer, recalled his involvement in 'a small but intrepid band arrayed in all the vigour of freedom in opposition to local as well as national abuses'.[19] Archibald Prentice, journalist and free trade enthusiast, described his association 'with a *little circle* of men' who, after the Peterloo massacre, 'threw the shield of *their* protection over the intended victims of a government oppression'.[20] Following Peterloo, the Circle became convinced that reform could only be secured by non-violent means since mass demonstrations ran the risk of convincing the government that Manchester was only capable of indulging in violent protests. The Circle, therefore, wanted to demonstrate that the citizens of Manchester were able to conduct rational and intelligent debates as an alternative to mass demonstrations so it proposed the organisation of deliberative assemblies, arenas for participants to meet and attain unanimity through discussion and debate.[21]

By 1835 the indoor venues could no longer accommodate the large audiences which the Circle attracted. Their response was to establish the Athenæum with the financial backing of fellow members, Richard and Thomas Potter. Members would pay a subscription of thirty shillings a year, which gave them access to lectures and a library.[22] The Circle also wanted the Athenæum to have an educational dimension so in a meeting held in October 1835, Richard Potter seconded the motion that the Athenæum's purpose should be to promote 'intellectual and moral improvement'.[23] The response to this proposal was positive: 'The intelligent and public-spirited merchants and manufacturers of Manchester, of all parties, came forward promptly and liberally to supply the necessary funds, and, in less than three weeks, shares to the amount of £7,000 were taken'.[24] The constitution of the Athenæum was now aligned with the non-violent, social reforming aspirations of the Little Circle and of

Dawson himself. To reinforce this purpose, at its first general meeting on 11 January 1836, the president, James Heywood, read a letter from Dr. Henry who urged unity and collaboration:

> It is vitally important that the Athenæum should never be perverted to the purposes of party politics, either local or general. It should never cease to be held inviolate as neutral ground, upon no one should be permitted to enter, without first casting aside all hostile weapons, and without determining to pursue, in the spirit of cordial union and co-operation, those objects only that are calculated to bind men together, and to still the warring elements of interest and passion into peace.[25]

The Athenæum did indeed act collaboratively with other organisations. At the Annual General Meeting of the Mechanics' Institute on 25 February 1836, the Secretary, Mr. Cottam, stated that:

> The Athenæum and the Mechanics' Institution have common objects – the intellectual and moral improvement of the people; and though each has its own separate sphere of action, the interests of both will ever be promoted that mutual co-operation and friendly intercourse which…will always subsist between the two institutions.[26]

Both institutions embraced Shakespeare as part of their activities, initially in an intermittent, low-key manner, but in so doing they established the custom of inviting eminent personalities to deliver lectures on the subject. In 1838, the Athenæum's third season, Charles Rees Pemberton delivered two lectures on *The Characters of Shakspeare* and in 1839 and 1840,

six lectures by the dramatist and actor Thomas Serle on *Plays and Characters of Shakespeare* were offered. A report of the first of the 1840 lectures stated that the 'attendance was not as numerous as we have seen on some occasions; nevertheless it was respectable' before proceeding to provide a detailed account of Serle's analysis of the characters to be found in *Hamlet* and his account of the history of the play.[27] After a period of three years in which no Shakespeare lecture was offered by the Athenæum, in February 1844 the prominent dramatist Sheridan Knowles delivered the first of two lectures on *The Genius of Shakspeare* to 'an overflowing audience, with many unable to gain admission' and was received 'with great applause'.[28] The Athenæum's reputation was further enhanced by the arrival of Charles Kemble for six *Readings from Shakspeare* which he had recently delivered before the Queen at Buckingham Palace. 'The lecture campaign is likely to open with great *éclat* at this institution' wrote one correspondent.[29] Despite the prestige attached to this event and the limited capacity – only sixty seats were available – the price of admission was attractively low, 'being to members about one tithe of what was paid in London'.[30]

These lectures demonstrated an appetite for insights into Shakespeare's works but they provided only conventional analyses of the plays. Knowles's second lecture in February 1844 on the *Influence of Incident and Situation as Employed by Shakspeare in Constructing the Second Act of Macbeth* did not attempt to link Shakespeare to religion or to advocate the use of his works as a spiritual guide for the town.[31] The local press ignored most of these lectures; even Kemble's were largely overlooked with a report printed of only the last of his six lectures. Shakespeare was regarded more as a means by which prestige could be brought to an institution at negligible risk either to its reputation or financial position rather than as a source of guidance for the town's development. It was against this background that Dawson

was introduced to Manchester by Alexander Ireland, the owner of a successful printing business and a Director of the Athenæum.

While visiting relatives in Birmingham in the final week of 1845, Ireland heard Dawson preach in his Mount Zion Chapel. Although he admitted that he 'remembered little of the subject of his discourse', Ireland was impressed by the 'quaint, vigorous and singularly appropriate language in which he conveyed his thoughts to his hearers'. In Ireland's opinion, the fluency, ease and self-possession 'surpassed anything I had ever met with before'.[32] After the meeting, Ireland requested him to appear at the Athenæum, a request Dawson accepted. Shakespeare and radical politics were about to be introduced to respectable Mancunian society.

Dawson travelled to Manchester to discuss with Ireland the subject of the first course of lectures. They decided that four lectures on *The Genius and Works of Thomas Carlyle* delivered between 12 and 22 January 1846 would be most suitable. (In fact, Manchester was the first location for this set of lectures which Dawson reprised in Liverpool, Birmingham, and Newcastle.)[33] From the title, there does not appear to be any Shakespeare connection at all. However, Carlyle, like Dawson, saw in Shakespeare a template for the future. Presenting the 'lordly spectacle' of Shakespeare's boundless empathy for 'all kinds of men and objects', Carlyle regarded him as presaging a new age, the 'priest of a new Catholicism, the "Universal Church" of the future and of all times'.[34] The *Sheffield Independent* was extremely enthusiastic about Dawson's lecture, eulogising that:

> This was altogether one of the most extraordinary and deeply extemporaneous addresses we have ever heard. Not so much for its eloquence…but for its deep thought, wide comprehensive views, earnest sincerity and truthfulness, its elevated tone, its noble and generous estimate of man's nature and worth, and its manly putting aside of petty conventionalities, and solemn regard for the great verities of life and immortality ; – we repeat, it was one of the most thought-awakening lectures we ever listened to'.[35]

Ireland was similarly effusive in his praise, recalling that:

> It was listened to throughout with rapt attention. His thorough appreciation of the spirit, and keen insight into the tendencies and bearings of Carlyle's philosophy, his remarkable power of summing up its cardinal features, and of applying it to the practical purposes of life, made him just such an interpreter as the apostle of "The Gospel of Work" himself might have desired.[36]

Dawson's lectures drew ever larger audiences: 'During these lectures the audiences increased in number from night to night, and many persons were unable to obtain admittance'.[37] However, the true significance of Dawson's words lies in how he energised and guided the people of Manchester: 'An impulse was given to free thought and to a spirit of free inquiry, and many young men and women were stimulated, by this and subsequent courses of his lectures, to higher aims, and encouraged, by their purifying and elevating tone, to aspire to a nobler daily life'.[38] At the Athenæum's tenth annual meeting on 28 January 1846, 'Mr. Robert Leake, jun,…complimented the directors for bringing before the members such men

as George Dawson'[39] and his lectures were praised as the 'crowning triumph' of the management of the institution.[40]

If Dawson's first set of lectures in Manchester provided only tangential references to Shakespeare, then his next visit to the town placed the playwright at the centre of his Civic Gospel. Dawson planned to deliver a course of seven lectures at the Athenæum commencing on 21 April 1846 on The *Characteristics and Tendencies of the Modern Age*. His second lecture was scheduled for the evening of 23 April 1846 but on the previous day Dawson suggested to Ireland that he deliver an *Oration on Shakespeare* on the following afternoon at two o'clock. As Ireland recalled, 'It was only thought of on the previous day, and notice could only be given to the public on the morning of the day upon which the address was to be delivered'.[41] Despite the short notice, '…the hall was crowded to overflowing, and hundreds were unable to gain admission'. Dawson's pulling power was impressive, as Ireland related:

> It was certainly a remarkable proof of the lecturer's powers that he was able in our busy town, engrossed in commercial pursuits, to induce a thousand men to leave their ordinary callings at an hour in which they are generally absorbed in business, and listen with breathless attention to what he had to say about the genius of the greatest of poets, and the effect he has exercised on humanity'.[42]

The oration lasted about an hour and was loudly applauded throughout.[43] However, Dawson had not selected a safe, uncontroversial subject. Instead, he chose to expound upon the *Inspiration of Shakespeare* and to embark on no less a task than to prove that Shakespeare's genius was divine in origin – while making supportive remarks about the theatre for good

measure. Dawson commenced by stating the case for the establishment of annual Shakespeare celebrations: '…I think it would be well if we had such a celebration annually. It would be well, I think, to substitute the celebration of the birthday of the greatest of our great ones, for that of such occurrences as the Gunpowder Plot' before dismissing the views of those who criticised the theatre, such as the clergy, as being 'little criticisms of little minds…Let small critics say their worst against Shakespeare'.[44]

Dawson's argument that the inspiration of Shakespeare was divine was based on his belief that 'If God be immediately present in the theologian, and in Creation…then, I say, He must be immediately present also in the movements of genius, whether manifested in poetry or music'. The contemporary view among clergymen was that 'The inspiration of Shakespeare is…not good enough to have emanated from God' yet 'it is not bad enough to be assigned to the devil' so Shakespeare was caught in an impasse, hanging 'Mohammed's-coffin-like, between heaven and earth'.[45] To resolve this impasse, Dawson argued that 'the poet, the musician, and the sculptor, each teaches the kingdom of heaven', concluding with the opinion that 'If the alternatives were placed before us, either to give up our Anglo-Indian empire, or the works of Shakespeare, I am satisfied that none of us would hesitate which we would have. We should be for having left to us the great high priest of intellect'.[46]

A correspondent, known only as 'Lib', believed that Dawson's address could be the catalyst for a profound change in the minds of the people of Manchester with a rallying cry for freedom not just of the body but of the mind in this town of free trade:

> And what will be the effect of such re-unions?...who can say that this celebration of the birthday of Shakspere [*sic*] shall not have been the birthday of mentally of some spirit who now first roused – now first touched by the Promethean fire, shall hereafter cast away the incumbrances in which he has hitherto been clothed, and stand nobly erect in intellect…the embodiment of the greatness of his time'.[47]

A few hours later, Dawson returned to the Athenæum to deliver the second in his course of lectures on *The Characteristics and Tendencies of the Modern Age*. Dawson criticised those who divided society into sects and parties and suggested that 'the man who could feel and sympathise with all political, religious, scientific and literary parties…was so much more the man'. He concluded that the greatest exponent of universal sympathy was Shakespeare: 'What party could lay his hands upon Shakspere and claim him?...Let Shakspere then be the standard of the modern age, whereby to measure themselves'.[48]

Dawson had stirred the Athenæum's passion for Shakespeare and it became a Shakespeare-centric institution – at least for a year. Charles Kemble's course of six *Readings from Shakespeare* was followed by a lecture by the poet and critic Richard Henry Horne on *The Undeveloped Characters of Shakspeare's Plays*, three lectures by R. Birnie on *The Principal Characters in Shakspeare's Plays*, a lecture each on *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth* by E. Elliot Graham and finally six more *Readings from Shakspeare* by Charles Kemble.[49]

Crucially, Dawson's speeches now attracted greater press attention. If his messages were to spread beyond the confines of the Athenæum, then the press had a significant role to play. Dawson himself recognised this in the first of a course of three lectures entitled *The Political*

*and Religious Movements in Europe and America* at the Free Trade Hall on 16 June 1846 when he argued that 'The newspaper did more than the pulpit now-a-days'.[50] The members of the Little Circle, as well as founding the Athenæum, had also established two of the newspapers which regularly reported at length on Dawson's activities in Manchester. The *Manchester Guardian* was founded in 1821 with the financial assistance of Richard and Thomas Potter and its first editor was John Edward Taylor. The *Manchester Times* was founded in 1828, also with the financial backing of the Potter brothers with Archibald Prentice as its first editor. With two newspaper editors and two proprietors amongst its membership, the Circle could publicly associate its own political opinions with the content of Dawson's speeches in print as well as within the Athenæum itself. In fact, the years of his appearances in Manchester were described as the 'lecture era' during which 'Able editors, with their printing presses, wheeled like light artillery over the lecturer, and blew him, with multitudinous volleys, into space'.[51]

But the first hint of dissatisfaction with Dawson occurred in September 1846 in a letter from the preacher and social reformer the Reverend Hugh Stowell who announced that the Bishop of Oxford had declined his invitation to a Soirée at the Athenæum because it had engaged Dawson again despite him expressing 'sentiments at variance with Christianity' and the 'infidel tendency' of his lectures.[52] Someone who signed himself 'J.M.' weighed in, decrying Dawson's 'lax principles' and stating that he had been 'too highly estimated at the Athenæum'. This criticism was not typical, however. C. Pountney defended Dawson and the management of the Athenæum in his reply four days later stating that Stowell is 'entirely in error' and describing Dawson as a man of 'extraordinary mental powers and most commanding eloquence, who ventures upon a somewhat unbeaten path in his public

lectures'.[53] On 7 October 1846, Stowell wrote again, specifically targeting Dawson's oration on the inspiration of Shakespeare:

> As for the parallel to be drawn between David and Shakspear [*sic*], it is as unsound in divinity as it is revolting in taste. Where do we read of the holiness of Shakspear, where of his deep and accepted repentance? And as for the writings of the great dramatist, however they may abound in noble ideas, and moral sentiment, they are almost as devoid as anything distinctively Christian as any writings in the English language.[54]

Dawson singled out Stowell's attacks on Shakespeare as being the reason which 'prevents me from valuing his verdicts much'.[55] Stowell's criticism of the Athenæum prompted it to arrange a meeting on the evening of 17 October 1846 'for the purpose of expressing disbelief in and condemnation of the charge made against the directors of being influenced in the management by party and sectarian feelings'.[56] The meeting closed with the Athenæum's faith in Dawson undiminished.

Dawson's final course of lectures at the Athenæum was entitled *Historical Characters Reconsidered*, delivered in January 1847, in which he discussed the lives of Pythagoras, Michelangelo, Mary Wollstonecraft, Swedenborg and Edward Fox but made no mention of Shakespeare. Judging by the lack of response in the local press, this seems to have been among Dawson's least controversial courses of lectures and examination of their content does not reveal anything contentious except perhaps his promotion of the rights of women. Yet at the Athenæum's Annual General Meeting on 28 January 1847, the next sign of anti-Dawson sentiment appeared. A member by the name of Capes asked why the Earl of Ellesmere had

ceased to be a member: 'Was the Lordship's withdrawal induced by the lectures delivered there by Mr. George Dawson?'. This enquiry which was greeted by 'loud applause'.[57]
At the monthly meeting of 29 March 1848, a requisition signed by five hundred members requiring that Dawson be engaged to deliver a course of six lectures on *The Present State of Europe* was submitted to the committee. However, a counter requisition signed by one hundred members demanded that Dawson should never be engaged again. With six hundred members out of a total membership of 2350 feeling so strongly about Dawson, the committee felt it had to act to prevent a schism within the institution. Therefore, they chose to side with the latter view, stating that 'the directors are convinced that it would be highly imprudent to engage a lecturer respecting whose lectures such extremely opposing opinions have been expressed'. Even the previously supportive local press was now critical of Dawson: 'We are glad to find…that the directors of this institution are coming to their senses as to the injurious effect resulting from the past association of Mr. Dawson with the Athenæum. We…have a decided opinion that the engagement of such lecturers would result in the downfall of the Athenæum'.[58]

Dawson was regarded as dangerous, first because he possessed both the popularity and stature to circumvent the established channels of influence, and second because he was at the forefront of the transition of the lecture platform from delivering predominantly academic discourses to challenging wider social issues. Traditionally the directors of lecturing associations had distanced themselves from anything controversial, sheltering behind rules that prohibited discussion of party politics or theology, but in the post-Peterloo era of Chartism and the Anti-Corn Law League, this approach had become difficult to maintain.

Even the safe haven of Shakespeare was risky in Dawson's hands – Shakespeare was about neither politics nor religion but Dawson made him about both.

Why was the Athenæum the target of press criticism while other societies, such as the Mechanics' Institute, were largely overlooked? Part of the reason is that the Athenæum's liberal and Unitarian leanings had, from its inception, aroused suspicion – in 1840, it had been the focus of a barrage of criticism prompted by a discussion on Owenism at its debating society.[59] Its vulnerability was increased by the burden of the mortgage on the impressive building it had erected as its home. In its first few years, a membership of approximately 2,500 easily sustained this mortgage but after 1841 a combination of suspicion aroused by its radical leanings and economic hardship in the town had caused a rapid decline in its membership and severe financial difficulties. In 1843, it was described as 'a melancholy memento to Manchester pride and folly'.[60] In such circumstances it could ill-afford to make enemies.

Additionally, the more middle-class clientele of the Athenæum conferred on its activities a greater significance and prominence than that of the Mechanics' Institute. It had been the Athenæum that had initiated Dawson's lectures and it was the Athenæum that was most prominent in introducing new lecturers to Manchester. In criticising the Athenæum perhaps it was hoped that the Mechanics' Institute and other institutions might be similarly cautioned. This is certainly the implication made by one correspondent who, in questioning the decision of the Mechanics' Institute to invite the former Chartist, Henry Vincent, to lecture, exhorted its directors to 'take warning from the fate of the Athenæum'.[61]

However, Manchester did not reject Dawson completely nor was the town's appetite for his lectures sated. Other institutions engaged him to lecture on a variety of topics but not with the same frequency as before, nor was Shakespeare to feature so prominently in his lectures again. In December 1847 at the Ancoats Lyceum he reprised his series of lectures on the *Characteristics and Tendencies of the Present Age* and at the Mechanics' Institute he delivered a course of six lectures on *Switzerland*.[62] In 1848, he even delivered his lectures on the *Present State of Europe* in the Athenæum itself but not at the invitation of the directors, who had declined to comply with a requisition from the members who wished to engage him, but at the instigation of a committee of members.[63] The directors did not attempt to prevent this nor did they openly endorse it thereby distancing themselves from Dawson and deflecting any criticism from the institution. Lecturing at the height of the 1848 revolutions in Europe, Dawson rejected the 'extraordinary reasons' of the Athenæum directors. He could not comprehend why newspapers should be permitted to comment on events on the continent while 'those who prefer the tongue to the pen' were instructed 'to say nothing, lest they should excite'.[64]

The Manchester Mechanics' Institute remained keen to engage Dawson; perhaps its membership was less easily offended, being drawn from industrialists and financiers rather than clergymen and academics. In November 1848 he lectured there on *Proverbs – Their Wisdom or Want of It*, in February 1849 on *Interviews with Remarkable Men* and in April and May 1849 he gave a course of two lectures on *Hamlet*. His final lecture in Manchester was delivered at the Mechanics' Institution on 2 May 1851 on the *Mythology of Nations.*[65] He occasionally appeared in the outskirts of the city such as at Rusholme Public Hall on 11 October 1865 when he lectured on the life of Richard Cobden .[66]

But what was Dawson's legacy in Manchester? Unlike Birmingham, Manchester did not possess a figurehead to translate Dawson's ideas into tangible artefacts. In Birmingham, this figurehead was Joseph Chamberlain who, as Lord Mayor and Member of Parliament for Birmingham, personified the Civic Gospel by not only improving the health and welfare of Birmingham's citizens but by advancing their cultural and intellectual development. According to Fernie, 'In his singularly productive term as its mayor, Joseph Chamberlain established gas and water as public utilities, cleared the slums, and built handsome boulevards, such as Corporation Street, which announced Birmingham as a civic power to be reckoned with, not just in Britain but around the globe'.[67] Such tangible artefacts were not necessary in Manchester. For most of the first half of the nineteenth century, Birmingham had lagged behind other great provincial centres in providing for its citizens and 'a score of other towns took advantage of government legislation to establish free libraries, while Birmingham dithered'.[68] Before Dawson's arrival, Manchester had already established those institutions which Chamberlain instigated in Birmingham so we will not find Dawson's influence in Manchester's municipal buildings.

Manchester had already created a tradition for peaceful reform after Peterloo, Shakespeare had been a firm favourite among Mancunian audiences for some time and religious tolerance was already a feature of the city. Therefore, Dawson was building on existing trends so his legacy here took other forms. For Shakespeare's birthday in April 1864, the Athenæum's Literary and Dramatic Reading Society staged *The Merchant of Venice*, the proceeds from which were given to the Manchester Shaksperian Commemoration Committee. A notable feature of this event was a prologue written by the Lancashire dialect poet Benjamin Brierley (reproduced in full at Appendix 3) which recalled themes promoted by Dawson two decades

earlier. Brierley connected with these ideas when he referred to him as ‘Great Shakspere! He, our poet, priest, and sage’ and continued by connecting with Dawson’s idea that Shakespeare should be employed as a spiritual guide for the development of a modern municipality: Law-giver to the heart, for every age/The soul's prime minister, this day was born’.[69]

In the social and political arena, his Civic Gospel influenced the thinking of leading Mancunians. In Birmingham, the radical politician and co-founder of the Anti-Corn-Law League, John Bright, was preaching to the converted as a convert himself when he echoed Dawson’s desire for a city to be a thing ‘of beauty and of dignity’ and expressing the hope that:

> Corporations generally will become more expensive than they have been; not expensive in the sense of wasting money, but that there will be such nobleness and liberality amongst the people of our towns and cities as will lead them to give their Corporations power to expend more money on those things which, as public opinion advances, are found to be essential to the health and comfort and improvement of our people.[70]

In summary, Dawson had a greater impact on Manchester’s engagement with Shakespeare than previous lecturers such as Kemble and Sheridan Knowles. First, he demonstrated that Shakespeare’s works had a far greater cultural value than being vehicles for mere entertainment. Second, he took his works out of the then lowly regarded environment of the theatre and transplanted them into the world of private members clubs whose own respectability was increased by association with his plays. Finally, by forging a link between

Shakespeare and these civic institutions, all manner of people chose to use Shakespearean references to add credibility and respectability to their own enterprises.

Evidence of Shakespeare's increased cultural value, respectability and popularity in Manchester can be found in the many and varied ways in which the people of Manchester engaged with him. In 1853, the Manchester Free Library received 352 requests to borrow works by Shakespeare, making him, by that measure at least, the most read author in Manchester.[71] In July 1848, the members of the Manchester Shakespeare rowing club entered the Thames Grand Regatta.[72] The neighbouring towns of Stretford and Harpurhey both established Shakespeare cricket teams which are first mentioned in the local press when a match between them on 5 August 1848 was abandoned owing to 'unfavourable weather and the advanced hour'.[73] By 1855, a Manchester Shakespeare cricket club had been established.[74] This kaleidoscope of locally generated Shakespeareana was supplemented via the press by a backdrop of incidental regional and national references – the sale of Shakespeare's house,[75] the death of Thomas Shakespeare Hart, 'a collateral descendant of Shakespeare, being the eighth in in regular descent from the poet's elder sister, Joan',[76] *Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare* available from a London bookseller, John Kendrick,[77] a racehorse named 'Shakespeare', running in the Chester Cup on 10 May 1854.[78]

Into this atmosphere of enthusiasm for all things Shakespearean, enter Calvert, appointed leading actor and stage manager of Knowles's Theatre Royal in the late summer of 1859.

## CHAPTER 5 - PART 1 - CHARLES CALVERT AND THE SAVING OF HENRY IRVING

In this chapter I discuss Knowles's most influential recruits to his company – Calvert and Irving. I explore the reasons why historical accuracy and spectacle were so attractive to managers and audiences alike and assess how Kean and Phelps influenced Calvert's approach to theatre management. I demonstrate that Calvert and Knowles shared common artistic and business values, that both wished to make the theatre profitable yet comparable to the best London could offer and that Calvert's first Shakespearean production, *Hamlet*, in 1859 exhibited many of the characteristics of his later revivals. I then investigate how Calvert employed the Theatre Royal as a laboratory, in which he could evaluate his own ideas for the development of Shakespearean theatre, before assessing his first attempts at adapting and writing plays. Finally, I discuss how Knowles and Calvert employed the theatrical environment they had both created to nurture the career of an unheralded and impecunious actor – Henry Irving.

Knowles pursued a policy of sound financial management and encouraged the production of Shakespeare's plays despite them having a reputation as unreliable generators of revenue. He created a first-rate stock company and nurtured emerging talent alongside well-established actors from around the country. Consequently, by 1859, the Theatre Royal had become the pre-eminent theatre in Manchester: 'The Theatre Royal was then a power in that part of the land. No other theatre existed except the "Queen's" which only produced melodrama, and which first-class stars never dreamed of visiting'.[1]

Knowles did not leave us any diaries or correspondence so the reasons for his employment of Calvert as leading actor and stage manager are unknown, but what is known is that Calvert

received the offer after he had fulfilled the role of leading actor at the Surrey Theatre in London.[2] Perhaps Knowles wished to raise the standard of his own theatre to that of those in metropolitan venues by employing someone who had not only acted in the capital but had witnessed Charles Kean's productions, had worked alongside members of Phelps's company and had managed the Surrey Theatre with its lessee, the American actor Hermann Vezin. Attracting theatre managers to Manchester from the capital was not new. In December 1841 John Henry Anderson took over the management of the Theatres Royal in Manchester and Liverpool having earlier been manager of the New Strand Theatre in London[3] but, following the financial failure of these enterprises, Robert Roxby, previously an actor at London's St. James's theatre, took over as lessee of Manchester's Theatre Royal, reopening it on 24 December 1842[4] before selling the patent to Knowles after the theatre's destruction by fire.[5]

From his *Hamlet* in 1859 to his final revival, *Henry VIII* in 1877, Calvert's Shakespearean productions were characterised by historical accuracy and realism. In this section, I explain why these attributes were so popular with managers and audiences alike. I then argue that Calvert was directly influenced by Kean's approach to his revivals and that he was determined to avoid the financial problems with which Kean had been beset before I move on to discuss the influence of Phelps on Calvert's career.

Why was historical accuracy and realism so attractive to theatre managers and audiences? First, managers strived to attract prosperous audiences whose presence would provide a predictable income and confer respectability on the theatre. Such audiences would be attracted to the theatre by performances of serious drama so, as Shaughnessy astutely observed, 'spectacle guaranteed the popular appeal, but historical authenticity guaranteed the

seriousness of Shakespearean theatre'.[6] Booth further suggests that theatre managers, stimulated by 'discoveries at Ninevah in the 1840s and at Pompeii, Ephesus, Troy and Mycenae in the sixties and seventies', began to make their settings, costumes and properties as archaeologically correct as possible.[7] In his acting edition of *Sardanapalus*, Calvert states that 'The astonishing discoveries…on the ancient site of Ninevah add an extraordinary interest to this [play]…illustrating Assyria in the days of the greatest magnificence' since the excavations had unearthed a palatial structure believed to be the work of Sardanapalus himself. These ancient artefacts along with the records in the British Museum provided Calvert with the reference material from which he could reconstruct a 'truthful and exact representation of the manners, habits and costume' of Assyria , all of which was consistent with his belief that '…the Theatre is dignified and its higher mission fulfilled by making all its illustrations truthful, beautiful and instructive'.[8]

Calvert's audiences would have been receptive to authentic and accurate stage representations as Victorians had become increasingly accustomed to seeing accurate pictures via a variety of media. They 'frequented magic lantern lectures, visited the new art galleries, read illustrated magazines, bought cheap prints of popular paintings in their millions, looked through stereoscopes, [and were] fascinated by the new art of photography'.[9] Consequently, the view that what was real about Shakespeare was not the drama and poetry but the characters and events became increasingly widespread.[10] This view was given physical form in Charles Knight's *Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare* issued in eight volumes from 1838 to 1843, a work which attempted to translate everything in the text of the plays into pictures, not just the action but also the allusions and imagery. For example, when, in

*The Taming of the Shrew*, we learn that Tranio hails from Pisa, Knight provides a view of the Duomo and the Leaning Tower.[11]

Artists were similarly tempted by scenes that were not or could not be represented on stage. Members of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were interested in combining realism with Shakespeare, producing over sixty illustrations from his plays, and often they sought 'situations of emotional and psychological complexity in both comedies and tragedies'.[12] For example, William Holman Hunt's *Valentine Rescuing Sylvia from Proteus* from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Claudio and Isabella* from *Measure for Measure* were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1851.[13] John Millais's 1852 painting of Ophelia is. according to Poole, '… the most famous of many nineteenth-century attempts to "realize" the great speech given to Gertrude in performance,' ('There is a willow grows askaunt the brook' (*Ham*. 4.7.166-183)).[14] Knowles's purchase of *King Lear and the Fool in the Storm* (c. 1851) directly from William Dyce, a Scottish realist painter and pre-Raphaelite adherent, serves as tangible evidence of his interest in art, realism and Shakespeare.[15] These and other similar works were the inspiration for the interpolated scenes such as Calvert's tableaux in his *Henry V* which depicted events only alluded to by Shakespeare. The fact that hundreds of lines of text had to be excised from the text to make way for these interpolations did not trouble Calvert or his audiences, with the result that the 'yardstick of authenticity was unequivocally historical not textual'.[16] Manchester's engagement with the visual arts and the pre-Raphaelite movement was further strengthened in the summer of 1857 by its hosting of the Art Treasures Exhibition, the greatest art exhibition in Europe, which was focussed on 'overhauling Manchester's maligned public image while at the same time celebrating the city's liberating principles and developing an autonomous cultural heritage'.[17] Among the 16,000 *objets d'art*

were Michelangelo's *Virgin and Child with St. John and Angels* and works by Holbein, Titian, Raphael, van Dyke and Giotto. The exhibition also furthered the careers of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, notably Hunt and William Wallis.[18] Sir Thomas Fairbairn, one of the prime movers behind the exhibition and a devout Unitarian, commissioned Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* and ensured that the same artist's *The Hireling Shepherd* was on display to convey visual messages of Christian duty.[19]

In London, Kean's pursuit of realism and historical accuracy to create serious theatre secured personal and professional status and his consequent election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries yet it failed to achieve financial stability for his theatre.[20] In his first seven seasons there had been a total profit of £2,627 or just over one per cent for an outlay of £250,000. Later seasons made money and lost it; the slump of 1857 coincided with a deficit of £4,000 on the season of 1857-58.[21] On 29 August 1859, Kean explained in his farewell speech at his Princess's Theatre the financial challenges he had faced operating in a theatre too small to be remunerative:

> But to carry out my system of pictorial illustration, the cost has been enormous, far too great for the limited arena in which it was incurred. As a single proof I may state that in this little theatre where £200 is considered a large receipt, and £250 an extraordinary one, I expended in one season alone a sum little short of £50,000.

His retirement was not prompted by lack of motivation but by financial pressures: 'The pitcher goes so often to the well, but the pitcher at last may be broken'.[22] In his revivals, Calvert demonstrated his own interest in archaeology, historical accuracy and realism but,

unlike Kean, he implemented these features only where they served his parallel aim of staging consistently profitable productions. Consequently, Calvert was not afraid to sacrifice strict authenticity where financial considerations had to take precedence. For example, his production of *Julius Caesar*, opening on 5 November 1866, reused much of the scenery employed in *Antony and Cleopatra* which had concluded its run two days earlier.[23]

In 1844, Phelps commenced his management of Sadler's Wells. His theatre was remote from the main theatrical centre of the West End but the bold move succeeded; Phelps built up a loyal local audience and abstracted some patronage from the West End.[24] Calvert's admiration for Phelps was evident from an early age. At the age of sixteen, Calvert and his thirteen-year-old friend, Coleman, stood at the stage door of Sadler's Wells theatre with the aim of meeting Phelps on the night that the theatre opened under his management. Phelps, despite being busy with preparations for *Macbeth*, met the two boys and 'gave himself no tragic or autocratic airs, but was gracious and patient'.[25]

Phelps's management, like Kean's, was distinguished by its allegiance to Shakespeare. In eighteen years Phelps produced thirty-one of his plays, fourteen of them in the 1856-1857 season alone. Like Kean his plays were aesthetically pleasing but unlike Kean he was not an archaeologist nor did he spend lavishly on his productions. Phelps also acted as the baton-carrier for the best elements of the legacy of Macready who had insisted on thorough rehearsals and unified productions. As Booth states, 'Through Phelps, the best in Macready's practice was passed on to the next generation, not in a smooth continuity, but as a valuable bequest…'.[26] Calvert was most willing to benefit from this bequest. In summary, Phelps

provided Calvert with a financial and commercial model while Kean provided him with an artistic, historical and literary model.

In 1856, Calvert had the opportunity to act with some of Phelps's company and to appreciate the challenges of playing in provincial theatres. After the Surrey Theatre in Southwark had closed for the summer, Calvert joined a small company that had been formed by members of Phelps's company to tour several provincial cities, using £500 inherited from his recently deceased father as his contribution. Although the speculation was not a financial success, he considered that 'The theatre of the provincial cities…had been opened to them, and he had also gained in method and in finish by playing important parts with important actors'.[27]

In 1859, Calvert was presented with his first chance to be an actor-manager. Vezin wanted to lease the Surrey Theatre for the summer from the theatre's managers, William Creswick and Richard Shepherd. However, as a wealthy man, Vezin was concerned that the terms offered would be unfavourable, so he asked Calvert to obtain the theatre in his name and to be his stage manager.[28] (According to Iris Henson, 'In the nineteenth-century theatre the term "stage management" implied the organising and instructing of the actors in their roles and the overall control of such matters as setting and design; in other words it meant more or less what we mean nowadays by "direction"'.)[29] This tactic bore fruit: Calvert managed the theatre for six weeks and opened there on 13 June 1859 playing the lead in *Macbeth*. In fact, the aspirations of Creswick and Shepherd were very closely aligned to those of Knowles and Calvert as, from the commencement of their management, they took as their example 'Mr. Phelps's conduct of Sadler's Wells Theatre'.[30] Eileen McCourt in her 2019 thesis argues that Phelps was attracted to those of Shakespeare's plays which had fallen out of the repertory

partly because he also needed an adventurous artistic policy to attract attention to suburban Islington.[31] But his commitment to legitimate theatre had a purpose wider than mere entertainment and financial success. McCourt believes that Phelps's purpose in management was also 'to inculcate appreciation of Shakespeare's words not necessarily with a pedagogic intent but to promote their appreciation through his interpretations.'[32] Creswick and Shepherd followed this model and endeavoured 'to do at the Surrey side what he [Phelps] effected at the north end of the metropolis, by creating a taste for a better kind of amusement than that to which the people had become accustomed' and were 'determined to…raise the character of the house by providing an intellectual fare for its patrons'.[33]

Calvert's experience at the Surrey Theatre made him the ideal person to import this approach to Knowles's Theatre Royal. As evidence that both men shared an enthusiasm for this approach and were both united in a desire to replicate it in Manchester, Knowles asked Calvert to 'go up' to London to see Phelps's production of the leading dramatist Tom Taylor's *The Fool's Revenge* and there 'make as many notes as you can, and jot down the colours and styles of the dresses, etc'.[34] Opening on 12 November 1859, Calvert's production of *Hamlet* provided him with an opportunity to apply what he had learned from Kean and Phelps and to give us evidence, at this early stage of his career in Manchester, of his desire to achieve realism, accuracy and spectacle while making a profit, supported by the infrastructure and business plan created by Knowles. He encountered some initial difficulties, however. According to his wife, 'Shakespearean plays in the provinces were generally "pitchforked" on the stage. Any scenery and any costumes sufficed' and he was 'indulging in the hope that he would be able to reform that altogether, and to give shape to some of his pet ideas'. Although Knowles supported his innovative ideas, he refused to spend any money on the

scenery or costumes: ‘There’s lots of scenery in the cellar, and heaps of dresses in the wardrobe. Do whatever you like with them, but I shan’t buy anything more’.[35]

Consequently, Calvert was forced to improvise. Knowles’s resident scenic artist added representations of tapestries to the lower portions of scenery as makeshift representations of Norman interiors. Costumes were reused to achieve historical accuracy. Those made of satin brocade and velvets used in previous productions of *Hamlet* were disregarded and, in their place ‘An attempt was made at Scandinavian costumes by selecting only serges, cloths and clinging silks, the heavy woollen stockings being rolled over at the knees and cross-gartered – a thing not previously seen here’.[36]

How was this production received? Starting with the claim that ‘For the first time the play of *Hamlet* was historically truthful’, this review continued:

> The dresses and scenery were strictly accordant with the fashions prevailing in Denmark at the period to which the play supposed to refer. Hamlet is no longer the stale embodiment of stage usages and stage traditions. For the spangled velvet robe and plumed hat are substituted a close-fitting tunic of plain cloth of sober hue, and a simple cloak of like material, with a cap of similarly primitive and unpretending fashion. He now appears “in his habit as he lived”.[37]

This was not in fact the first time that an attempt at creating historically truthful costumes had been attempted. In 1853, Kean rejected the tartans of his performances in the 1840s and instead, trusting in the works of Xiphilinus and Pliny, wore the ‘tunic, mantle, cross-

gartering, and ringed byrne of the Danes and Anglo-Saxons' as he explained in his playbill. However, this costume was ridiculed by James Robinson Planché, British dramatist, antiquary and 'the godfather of theatrical historicism', who made it the subject of a parodic tableau in *The Camp at the Olympic* (1853).[38]

Calvert's first attempt at historical accuracy was judged by one reviewer as 'most creditable both to the stage manager and to the resources of the theatre' while the lack of spectacle rendered the play 'unobjectionable to those with whom we sympathise in protests against Shakespeare's dramas being made the vehicles of mere spectacular displays and upholstering efforts'.[39] The attempt to create realistic scenery also met with favour: 'The whole approximated to, if did not faithfully represent, what we know of the manners and customs of the Danes at the time of Canute'.[40] Nor was the scenery a merely passive backdrop against which the action could take place. Calvert demonstrated his flair for the innovative and the dramatic: 'startling effect was produced by the entrance of the Ghost through the panel containing the portrait of the murdered King'.[41] The production ended with a tableau 'exhibited in a courtyard, in which the fencing between Hamlet and Laertes would naturally come oft [*sic*], and is very effective'.[42] This tableau was an example of Calvert following the trend established by visual artists giving form to episodes only alluded to by Shakespeare and anticipated his extensive use of them in his revivals.

The standard of acting attracted some negative comment, however. On Jones's Hamlet: 'His reading was excellent, with the exception that there was in delivery of some of the passages dull uniformity of tone inconsistent with the varied sentiments expressed'. Although Calvert as the Ghost 'comprehended the part thoroughly', he 'greatly marred the effect by intoning

his addresses'.[42] Another review believed that 'a mistake was committed in making the first gravedigger a young man, and the second…an old one' and questioned why Osrick was represented as 'part archangel and part clown'. This unevenness in the standard of acting anticipated Calvert's tolerance of it in his later revivals; perhaps he was gauging the public's reaction to it here. At no point did Calvert refer to this as a revival but one review believed he 'had striven to impart to the representation something of the dignity of a "revival;" and to a great extent he succeeded'. The production was also a financial success, even if there is evidence that this theatre could not yet attract substantial middle-class patronage: 'The pit and gallery were crowded and the upper circle well filled, though the boxes were almost empty'.[43]

Calvert treated this production as a prototype to evaluate the challenges of producing the plays of Shakespeare with a greater degree of historical accuracy, building on the legacies of Phelps and Kean but supplementing them with his own ideas. The well-filled theatre and the positive reviews of the scenery and costumes would have affirmed that his approach to Shakespearean productions was a sound one, both artistically and commercially, though the empty boxes showed more needed to be done to make the theatre an attraction for the more prosperous sections of society.

Knowles did not renew Calvert's contract as actor and stage manager after the summer of 1860. Possibly Calvert's involvement in the establishment of a project to build a new theatre, the Prince's Theatre, which opened in 1864, may have caused a conflict of interest.[44] In any event, Calvert continued to act and produce at the Theatre Royal, illustrating that there was

apparently no enmity between the two men, as well as at Manchester's Queen's Theatre and other provincial venues.

In this section I describe how Calvert, having no managerial responsibilities between 1861 and 1864, adapted existing dramas and used them as prototypes for the creation of his own acting editions of Shakespeare's plays, most of which were available to the public from the box office for a few pence. I argue that the success of these acting editions was built upon his experiments with adapting existing plays and that from these experiments he could assess the practicalities of creating texts suitable for his revivals.

Calvert's first adaptation was of *The Masked Mother; or, The Hidden Hand*,[45] by the American writer Emma Southworth, originally serialised in the *New York Ledger* between February and July 1859.[46] The play was initially licensed for performance at the Surrey Theatre on 4 July 1859 with the adaptor named as the English playwright Colin Henry Hazlewood and the copyist as 'Adelaide Calvert'.[47] Calvert's adaptation (probably based on Hazlewood's version) opened at the Victoria Theatre on 5 December 1859, the short time between the staging of the two versions suggesting that Calvert's changes could not have been extensive.[48]

Calvert's next adaptation, which opened at the Theatre Royal in the first week of April 1861, was *The Island Home*, based on an obscure work, *La Dame de St.-Tropez* by the French dramatists Auguste Anicet-Bourgeois and Adolphe d'Ennery, first performed on 23 November 1844 at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin in Paris. Calvert's version comprised four acts (the original being in five) with a license for its performance at the Theatre Royal

issued on 30 March 1861. The signatory was Knowles and the Lord Chamberlain's office stipulated that all oaths should be removed from the text along with the phrase 'The God of this island'.[49] The play was set on the Caribbean island of Tortuga, an island of which Adam Blake was the sole proprietor. This concept of a man owning an island and being referred to as 'The God of this island' recalled *The Tempest*. This experiment met with some success, with one reviewer insisting that 'We must speak in terms of praise of the manner in which it is put on the stage, and also of the very pleasant musical interspersed throughout'.[50]

Calvert's third adaptation, also 'from the French', was co-authored with Coleman – *Rube the Showman*, a drama in four acts.[51] This was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office on 19 February 1862 for its first performance at the Princess's Theatre in Leeds with Coleman playing Rube.[52] From Leeds, Coleman took the play to Lincoln where one review praised his acting and the play itself: '[Coleman] must have felt much gratified by the crowded and fashionable audience which assembled to do him honour, the more so as the title of the new play "Rube the Showman" was certainly not suggestive of high art'.[53] A review of a performance in Derby also notes that the play was written to suit Coleman but adapted by him: '[a] play expressly written for, and arranged by Mr. Coleman himself…it is, without exception, the best, the most striking, the most exciting, and the best constructed piece of its kind we have ever seen'.[54]

However biased and subjective they may have been, reviews in the press were one of the main ways in which audiences could be tempted to attend a production. So, encouraged by the popularity and the positive reviews of *Rube the Showman*, Calvert now moved away from adaptations and instead created an original melodrama in three acts, *The Hive of Life: Its*

*Drones and Workers*, described as 'a play of "Now a days"'[55] (Although one newspaper erroneously claimed that it too was adapted from the French.[56]) The play was first mentioned in the *Era*: '*The Hive of Life* is in preparation and will shortly be produced with new scenery and dresses, Mr and Mrs C. Calvert take the leading characters'.[57] It was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain's Office on 7 June 1862 for performance in Glasgow.[58] It had, in fact, been first staged at the Queen's Theatre in Manchester on 21 April 1862 where it ran for five nights.[59]

In the *Era* for 1 June 1862, Calvert took out an advertisement inviting theatre managers to engage him to produce this play, citing testimonials received from several Manchester newspapers.[60] From these periodicals we can see that the play contained many of the features present in Calvert's Shakespearean revivals – high standards for scenery and costumes and dissemination of moral messages relevant to the modern world. Indeed. the plot itself could have been a Shakespearean critique of those in power such as *The Tempest* or *Measure for Measure* – all the upper order are tyrants, the middle and lower classes are slaves and victims, the lawyer is wily and unprincipled.[61] However, in the midst of general acclaim, the *Era* thought the subject matter too rich for its blood, stating that 'We do not admire the sentiment attempted to be conveyed, and happen to be of that class who believe that wickedness and fashionable vices are not indigenous to wealthy and aristocratic people…and we should like to see Mr. Calvert devote his talents to a better and more healthy subject'.[62]

Calvert's final adaptation before his management of the Prince's Theatre commenced was *The Duke's Signal* based on the French historical adventure novel *Le Bossu* (*The Hunchback*) by French novelist and dramatist Paul Féval, first published in Paris in 1858. Henri de Lagardère, a swashbuckling swordsman, disguises himself as a hunchback to avenge his

friend, the Duke de Nevers, who has been murdered by Prince de Gonzague. A version titled *The Duke's Motto or I Am Here!* attributed to Féval and John Brougham, an English actor and dramatist, had opened at the Lyceum in London on 10 January 1863 and was first performed in Manchester at the Queen's Theatre on 20 May 1863 with Calvert as Lagardère and his wife as Blanche.[63] The reception in the local press was positive: 'The piece has proved a great success, and the principal actors have nightly received that proof of public approval – a call before the curtain'.[64] Given this reception, it is likely that Calvert was content to use Brougham's version as the basis for his own adaptation which was first registered at the Lord Chamberlain's Office under the name of *The Duke's Signal* and described as a drama in three acts with a prologue by Calvert. The license was issued on 10th July 1863 for a performance at the Theatre Royal in Manchester.[65] Calvert's version 'enjoyed over twenty revivals in various British and American cities over the next thirty years', a precursor to Calvert's international exports of *Richard III* and *Henry V*.[66]

My research has not revealed any copies of Calvert's acting editions of these adaptations. Perhaps Calvert saw no commercial value in making them available to the public nor is there any evidence that he sold the rights to his adaptations to other actors or managers. From contemporary reviews, it seems that his adaptations were both critical and financial successes which would have informed some of Calvert's artistic and commercial decisions when he came to produce his Shakespearean revivals at the Prince's Theatre. But why did Calvert produce Shakespeare's plays at the Prince's Theatre at all if these adaptations of melodramas were so successful? First, although these adaptations were theatrically and commercially effective, they could not increase the prestige of the theatre by speaking of intellectuality or elite culture nor were they in any way historically instructive or educationally valuable. (In

fact, not a single one was set in Britain.) To achieve these last two aims, as Richard Schoch explains, theatrical historicism had to be applied not to 'quasi-historical melodramas, but to the national drama – i.e. to Shakespeare's authoritative account of English political history'. Second, Schoch argues that '…an historically accurate theatrical performance could succeed as history only if the dramatic action recovered an authentic moment of nation-building'. Such moments could only be found in Shakespeare, as I discuss further in the second part of this chapter.[67]

In this closing section, I describe the arrival of Irving and how in Manchester he found the ideal place in which to establish his career. In 1860, Knowles added Irving to his stock company, an unknown and unimpressive actor who seemed destined for a career playing minor roles in provincial theatres. Why Irving chose to come to Manchester is not known but the city's theatrical reputation may have persuaded him. Of provincial towns and cities, only Manchester could have provided him with the opportunity to perform in a theatre described as a 'power in the land',[68] to learn his trade in the presence of a stock company described as 'the finest in Great Britain', to enhance his skills alongside star names such as Edwin Booth and to work in a theatre which was blessed with financial, proprietorial and managerial stability.[69]

Irving's previous engagement had been at the Theatre Royal in Glasgow but his time there had been an unhappy one:

> I was surprised and indignant to find myself cast for some character in the *Warlock of the Glen* which was to be played as a Saturday night 'attraction'...As I had made my

> mark as an actor in Dublin, where I had been a great favourite, you can imagine what I felt when I found myself announced merely as a Mr. Irwin. They couldn't even spell my name correctly, but I played the part nevertheless.

Irving stayed on as a light comedian for the remainder of the season, playing parts such as Mr. Aubrey in *The Curious Case* and Sir Charles Howard in *Little Treasure*.[70]

As an actor unknown in the city, Irving's arrival in Manchester went unrecorded in the local press and has received little attention in secondary sources, so, for an account of how he came to join Knowles's company, I have relied on Laurence Irving's biography of his grandfather and on a speech which Henry Irving gave at a banquet held in his honour at the Arts Club on 30 September 1887, twenty-seven years after he first appeared on the Manchester stage. Irving recalled that he '…came all the way from Greenock with a few shillings in my pocket, and found myself in this splendid theatre [the Theatre Royal]'.[71] At the end of the summer of 1860, Irving, with a companion, Henrietta Hodson, set out from Glasgow for Manchester. He found his way to the Printer's Arms, a public house near the Theatre Royal which was not only a 'natural' rendezvous for actors but was also the headquarters of the Titan Club, 'a literary club of convivial character', whose founder and president was Thomas Chambers, the theatre's treasurer.[72] A few weeks later, Irving was elected a member of the Club, each member of which was required to adopt the name of a Shakespearean character. Calvert was Hamlet, Chambers was Prospero but Irving selected for himself Thersites, the 'deformed and scurrilous Grecian' of *Troilus and Cressida*. Lawrence Irving believed that 'Irving's choice of the most scurvy cripple in Shakespeare's crowded gallery of characters betrayed his sardonic estimate of his present state'.[73] His difficult early months in Manchester were made

more bearable by his friendship with Calvert whose wife recalled that Irving '…had refined thoughts, lofty ideals and he and his stage manager were soon on friendly terms. They were kindred spirits'.[74] The two of them would take long walks together, dine on Irish stew at the Calvert's home and discuss 'Shakespeare, dramatic art and poetry' into the small hours.[75]

On 29 September 1860, Irving made his début in Manchester playing a small part in a farce and joining the company for the National Anthem at the end of the performance. The local press reported on his first appearance thus: 'We perceive in the cast several fresh names. Mr. Henry Irving makes his début on these boards in the character of Adolphe, a young carpenter'.[76] However, the press also seized upon Irving's peculiarities of gait and speech and, perhaps in response to these comments, Knowles decided to dismiss Irving from the company. Calvert successfully persuaded him to retain Irving, their shared love of theatre proving to be the basis of a supportive partnership.[77]

Fortunately, the Theatre Royal provided Irving with a succession of theatrical stars from whom he could improve his technique. In October 1861, Edwin Booth arrived in Manchester as part of his first trip to England. Booth's approach to acting, particularly evident in his Hamlet, was intellectual; he harnessed his fine voice and flexible technique to a natural interpretation of Shakespeare's characters. In November 1861, Booth opened in *Hamlet* with Irving playing Laertes and Calvert as the Ghost followed by *The Merchant of Venice* with Booth as Shylock and Irving as Bassanio.[78] After working alongside Booth, reviews of Irving's performances became more positive. The *Examiner* said of his performance as Claude Melnotte in Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons*: 'Though one might have considered the part beyond his powers, [he] deserved the applause so liberally bestowed upon him. He

delivered many passages with fine feeling and…surprised many present who have only seen him in characters of less importance'.[79]

Despite his success in this and other roles, Irving left Knowles's employ in 1864 in unusual circumstances. The American magicians, Ira and Henry Davenport, had claimed that they could perform supernatural acts on stage, so Irving and two other actors, one of whom was a magician, decided that they would debunk these claims by recreating their acts by entirely natural means. So successful was their routine that Knowles, ever alert to a money-making opportunity, asked Irving to repeat their performance at the Theatre Royal. However, Irving refused on the grounds that it was not consistent with his profession and, not wishing to place his good friend Calvert in an untenable position, resigned his position. Over the next two years, Irving travelled to Edinburgh, the Isle of Man and Liverpool without any discernible advancement in his career; he had to wait for his return to Manchester for his career to resume its upward trajectory.

In 1866, Irving transferred his services to the Prince's Theatre, which had opened in 1864 under Calvert's management, and it was here that the next significant turning point in his career occurred. He joined a company organised by the successful actor, playwright and theatre manager Dion Boucicault and, by now more confident of his own abilities, made a stipulation that, should he prove successful, he must be offered a London engagement. On 30 July 1866, Irving played Rawdon Scudamore in Boucicault's drama *The Two Lives of Mary Leigh* 'with complete success'.[80] So great was the impression made that he immediately had two London theatres at his command, one offered by Tom Taylor, who was a most influential and well-known figure having staged over a hundred plays, the other by the equally

influential and well-known Boucicault. On 6 October 1866, at the St. James's Theatre, Irving made his appearance for the first time as an actor of recognised standing in the character of Doricourt in Hannah Cowley's comedy *The Belle's Stratagem*.[81]

## CHAPTER 5 - PART 2 - THE INVENTION OF MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE

In this chapter I will define Mancunian Shakespeare and describe Calvert's use of his Shakespeare tercentenary birthday celebration event in 1864 as a prototype for concepts later employed in his revivals. Foulkes has published several accounts of Calvert's revivals in books and journals as listed in the bibliography. Therefore, I do not intend to duplicate his significant and ground-breaking contributions to the literature but instead I will concentrate on the distinctive and innovative features of Calvert's revivals, grouped by scenery, tableaux, lighting, acting editions, music, financial management, commercial innovation and influence on theatre management.

What do I mean by Mancunian Shakespeare? Anyone reading the preface to the acting edition of Calvert's 1865 revival of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* would be forgiven for thinking that it was nothing more than the slavish importation of ideas and expertise from London. The 'new and magnificent scenes' were painted by Thomas and Walford Grieve of Covent Garden and the music was selected by the musical director of the Lyceum in London, William Henry Montgomery. Calvert himself even explicitly declared his debt to Kean: 'In the arrangement of the scenes, Mr. Calvert begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Charles Kean's admirable edition of the acting play'.[1] However, Mancunian Shakespeare was more than this. It was the sum of all that Knowles had achieved under his management of the Theatre Royal supplemented by Calvert's own innovations.

In this section I examine how Calvert used the tercentenary birthday celebrations in 1864 to experiment with several of the concepts he later employed in his revivals. During April 1864, various events to celebrate the tercentenary of Shakespeare's birth took place in Manchester.

The Athenæum's Literary and Dramatic Reading Society staged *The Merchant of Venice*, the Freemasons consecrated the Shakspere Lodge (No.1009) while the Manchester Shakespeare Society arranged an evening of 'highly interesting readings' from Shakespeare.[2] Readings from Shakespeare were, according to Manktelow, 'typically performed in town halls and assembly rooms rather than established theatres' and thus found popularity among 'anti-theatricalists who considered the theatres to be dens of iniquity' and 'bardolators looking for a more direct connection to Shakespeare's works unimpaired by, as they saw it, the excesses of theatrical productions'.[3] At the Theatre Royal, Calvert took a series of Shakespeare readings and, in the context of a theatre, transformed them into Manchester's most innovative and inclusive celebratory event by illustrating them with 'living pictures and appropriate music' using the existing acting company, stage, scenery and costumes to 'invest them [the readings] with an interest which they were not supposed generally to possess'.[4]

The event opened with Prospero threatening Caliban – 'If thou neglectest, or dost unwillingly/What I command,/ I'll rack thee with old cramps.'(1.2.371-372) – accompanied by the songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' (1.2.378ff) and 'Full fathom five thy father lies' (1.2.400ff). After readings from ten other plays had been performed, the event concluded with a set of allegorical tableaux, in which Shakespeare was crowned by Fame, supported by the muses of Tragedy, Comedy, Poetry and Painting, and Calvert read *All the World's Stage*. As he fell onto his knees, the audience rose *en masse* and cheered. The reception in the press to these tableaux was striking: '…the living pictures are so graceful, so picturesque, and so beautiful, as they were in the flood of light thrown upon them from the side of the stage.[5] Calvert later employed tableaux extensively in his revivals and from this event he would have appreciated the technical challenges of presenting them in a theatre, gauged the public

reception and gained some indication of the commercial advantage to be obtained from presenting them. In fact, so popular was this performance of readings and tableaux that they were repeated for five nights from 23 May 1864 at the Theatre Royal.[6]

**SCENERY**

Calvert wanted his productions to equal the best of metropolitan theatre and in this the timing of the commencement of his career at the Prince's Theatre was propitious. According to Foulkes, 'Taking place…during a lean period for Shakespeare in London, Calvert's revivals not only provided opportunities for metropolitan designers to work on the plays, but also continuity between the eras of Kean and Irving'.[7] For example, the elder William Telbin had worked on Kean's 1858 production of *The Merchant of Venice* before working on Calvert's 1871 revival of that play while Walter Hann and Hawes Craven, after working with Calvert, designed scenery for Irving's version of the play at the Lyceum in 1879.

Calvert's first revival, *The Tempest*, inaugurated the Prince's Theatre on 15 October 1864. The playbill announced that five of the scenes were painted by Frederick Holding and three by the Grieve family. Thomas Grieve and his son Thomas Walford Grieve were mostly associated with their work in London, work which had become the benchmark for excellence in scenery painting. Holding was known more for his watercolour paintings but had contributed to Knowles's production of *Macbeth* at the Theatre Royal in 1854. However, before he could engage them, Calvert had to overcome some misgivings from the proprietors about the cost of producing the scenery by assuring them that it could be reused for other productions. Calvert's wife recalled that 'These scenes were looked upon by the committee as something of an extravagance, but…as they were to be stock scenery for possibly three or

four years, they would well repay the outlay'.[8] The opening scene by Holding depicted a storm and a wrecked ship which filled the stage and 'laboured so really in a tremendous sea as to bring almost a smell of salt water and its attendant incidents home to every spectator'.[9] There are some similarities to the scenery provided by the Grieves for the production of *The Tempest* at Covent Garden in 1842 which featured 'a noble ship – no painted profile, but an actual hull, completely rigged, and appointed in every respect'.[10] Calvert went one step further by employing the local firm of John Byrnes to install mechanical apparatus to replicate the boat being tossed in the storm. The experimental nature of this apparatus is evident in this review: 'The mechanical appliances of the stage, which are ample, and include the latest improvements of scenic art, were not worked with all the precision and skill that will come with use, and it was quite apparent that the audience understood and allowed for these slight drawbacks'.[11] Calvert devoted just as much attention to the ancillary scenic elements. The act-drop – the painted cloth which closed the proscenium opening between the acts of a play – had been created by William Roxby Beverley and represented the vestibule of a Grecian temple 'disclosed by the opening, in graceful folds, of massive and elegant tapestry'.[12]

Even in this first revival, Calvert employed three scenic painters, one of whom had little experience in this role. Why did he adopt this approach? The Grieves had evolved a standard approach to scenery using a set of templates for landscapes, churches and other interiors which were adjusted for each commission. While this approach was necessary if they were to fulfil their commissions, it led to a sameness and predictability: 'In all their variety, the Grieve Collection designs testify to the artistic gifts of this family. But the designs in their sameness – their patterns – also tell us how the Grieves got the work done'.[13] Perhaps Calvert

wished to avoid this sameness and to introduce a greater measure of originality by employing a variety of scenery painters. This approach was also proof against the unavailability of the Grieves since Holding's newly acquired expertise could be employed in future revivals. Whatever the reasons, by the time of his final revival, Calvert had employed nineteen different scenery painters and often six or seven different designers on one production.[14]

Calvert retained the services of the Grieves and Holding for his second revival, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1865, and did so again for his third revival, *Antony and Cleopatra*, in 1866. Their work for the latter was described as 'an unmistakable triumph'[15] while another source enthuses that 'their present achievement far o'ertops any of their former efforts'.[16] For the first time a historical source was cited in the advertisement, suggesting perhaps that this scene was not derived from a template used elsewhere. The Grieves' *Rome in the Time of the Triumvirate*, which opened the second act, had been taken from *Rome As it Was, Restored After Existing Remains*, a drawing by the architect Arthur Ashpitel, 'the details being worked out with wonderful accuracy, and the perspective being complete'. The Colosseum towered in the centre, with the palace of the Caesars to the right and to the left a magnificent arch crowned with the sculptured effigy of Phoebus driving his four-horse chariot.[17]

By the time of his fourth revival, *A Winter's Tale*, Calvert wished to emphasise the originality of the scenery, announcing that the play 'will shortly be produced with entirely New Scenery, Novelties and Effects by T. Grieve and Son, G. Gordon, Perkins, Herberte and others'.[18] He made great play of the fact that he had sourced the finest properties, costumes and other accessories from Leblanc Grainger of Paris and Fred C. Labhart of Holborn and had consulted a wide range of historical source material in his search for originality and

authenticity, referencing such varied works as Becker's *Charikles* (1840*)*, Potter's *Antiquities* (1697), Zahn's *Pompeian Ornaments* (1828), Smith's *Grecian and Roman Antiquities* (1848) and Gell's *Pompeiana* (1832).[19] Another advertisement written by 'C.C.' (presumably Calvert himself) illustrates a tendency towards spectacle: 'A considerably enlarged company is especially engaged, a powerful chorus, and a greater number of auxiliaries than have ever appeared on the stage of this theatre…CC'.[20] The first scene represented a *Peristyle in the Palace of Sicilia* being 'very boldly conceived and finely painted by Mr. Herberte', a new artist recruited for this revival.[21] The dresses worn by the attendants upon the royal feast were not only elegant and costly, but they were 'exact copies of contemporary costume contributing to a spectacle which was very warmly and judiciously applauded'.[22] By now, the scenery, costumes and tableaux were at least as important as the acting, if the placing of the names of the actors at the bottom of the advertisement is an accurate indicator.

Calvert aspired to achieve even greater authenticity in his next revival, *Richard III*, which opened on 31 August 1870. For the first time, the advertisement for the play included an extract from his acting edition, on this occasion listing those who advised him on the scenery, costumes and accessories to help him produce a play 'that should be perfect in correctness of detail and accuracy of *mise-en-scène*, and, if possible, surpass in entirety anything yet seen on our stage'. As the last two acts were set entirely in a time of war, heraldic accuracy was important 'as each leader would exhibit on his tabard his insignia, and each retainer the badge or cognisance of his lord'. He enlisted the help of Planché, who provided illustrations of King Richard, and Darbyshire 'whose technical knowledge has proved a great aid'.[23] (Darbyshire was an architect, amateur actor and authority on heraldry who first met Calvert during an amateur production of *As You Like It* as the Theatre Royal in November 1861. In

Darbyshire's words, 'a friendship resulted which materially affected my professional and social life'.[24]) Using information gathered from these experts, the armour and weapons were manufactured by Le Blanc Granger of Paris from specimens in the Myrick collection and the French arsenals. Calvert acknowledged his debt to Alfred Thompson, costume designer and managing director of the Prince's Theatre and Theatre Royal in Manchester, for advice about the costumes which were provided by the theatrical costumiers Auguste et Cie. of 27 Wellington Street in London located in the heart of the city's theatreland just off the Strand. The scenery was again produced by Thomas and Walford Grieve (eight scenes) and Perkins (nine scenes).[25]

For his 1871 revival of *The Merchant of Venice*, Calvert was not content with taking advice from experts. Instead he travelled to Venice and, with the assistance of Tom Taylor, was introduced to the researcher into Venetian state papers, Rawdon Browne, who had lived in Venice since 1833 and who was able to answer Calvert's detailed questions about the architecture of the city. According to Calvert's wife, Browne 'entered with much delight into all my husband's ideas regarding *The Merchant of Venice*, and, together, they searched old archives, whose time-stained pages gave them glimpses of the age "when Venice, throned in state, sat on her hundred isles."'[26] Even after Calvert's return to Manchester, Browne continued to respond to his enquiries – and what detailed enquiries they must have been to elicit responses such as '…be it known that "The Foscari Gate", which is here called "Porta della Carta", still bears the Foscari arms on its external front, in the two niches on the third story [*sic*]; the dexter chief bearing the winged lion's head, and, on a line with the pedestals of two figures on the second story [*sic*], are three marble brackets'. While in Italy, Calvert

purchased a gondola which was shipped to Manchester for inclusion in two of the scenes of the production.[27] Its appearance in the third scene prompted special mention in the press:

> Upon this scene, Bassanio and his attendants are conveyed in a gondola, to the history of which some interest attaches. It has been the property of two noble Venetian families, and was purchased expressly for this representation by Mr. Calvert on his recent visit to Venice. It is said to be identical in almost every respect with the vessels in use in 1570, which is the supposed period of the comedy'.[28]

Calvert was not the first to employ a three-dimensional gondola. For his 1858 revival of this play at the Princess's Theatre in London, Kean, with his usual insistence on accuracy, researched the correct livery for the gondola: 'The traditionary black gondola was discarded, and it was found that Mr. Kean was right in introducing a coloured one, as the sumptuary laws did not apply at that particular time'.[29] There is no evidence that Kean imported a gondola from Italy, however. Calvert was not content for his scenic artists to work from secondary sources so, presumably at Calvert's expense, the Telbins accompanied him to Venice. The artworks for *The Quay of the Prisons at Rialto* (1.1) and *The Faconon Palace on the Rio della Fava* (1.3) were 'painted by William Telbin from sketches taken on the spot'. Similarly, the scenery for act 2, *The Grand Square of St. Mark*, was 'painted by William Telbin, *jun*., from sketches taken on the spot'. For the first time, the Grieve family are omitted from the list of scenery painters in the advertisement, the main contractors being the Telbins assisted by Hawes Craven, George Gordon, Walter Hann and Phillips. Why the Grieves were not employed is unknown. Perhaps demand for their services had increased in London and so they were unwilling to send any of their artists to Italy or perhaps Calvert

wanted to inject more variety into the scenery.[30] In any event, reviews were predictably positive with a hint that the scenery was perhaps receiving greater public approval than the actors: 'The warmest applause was justly bestowed on the interior of the grand hall of Portia's palace, which is a gorgeous set scene, occupying the whole of the stage, and filled with a splendidly dressed and artistically grouped crowd.[31]

All the scenic elements of Mancunian Shakespeare came together in Calvert's most celebrated and most commercially successful revival – *Henry V*. Calvert was now able to assemble the best team of scenery painters based on the experience gained from the previous revivals. The artists were the Grieves, the Telbins, F. Lloyds and Walter Hann. The costumes were 'selected and designed from historical authorities', being designed by John Dawson Watson and created by Auguste et Cie. of London and Paris.[32] For the armour he turned to Watson as designer and to both F. P. Walker of 42 Market Street in Manchester (a manufacturer of chaff-cutting machines and kibbling mills) and Kennedy of Birmingham as manufacturers. For the regalia he engaged Le Blanc Granger. Darbyshire thoroughly researched all aspects of the heraldic banners and devices. Happily all his sketches and notes still exist in the John Rylands Library in Manchester revealing meticulously drawn and painted flags and banners with numerous explanatory annotations.

**TABLEAUX**

The Grieves' scenery for the Battle of Agincourt made no attempt to depict the actual fighting but instead 'a picture in still life is presented on a crowded stage of the very death-grapple of two hostile armies'.[33] Of all the tableaux Calvert had created, this was the most sophisticated. It presented 'a picture so telling and effective that the audience demanded its

repetition thrice' and the applause only subsided 'when Mr. Calvert appeared in front of the curtain and bowed his acknowledgements to the audience'.[34]

Calvert created an entirely new fourth act for the purpose of being able to create an interlude, inspired by Kean's own *Historical Episode: Reception of King Henry the Fifth on Entering London After the Battle of Agincourt* and illustrated by a similarly spectacular wordless tableau. Also painted by the Grieves, its main feature was the Tower Gate through which the king and his troops entered, their arrival greeted by the local burgesses and the soldiers' wives and children. This impressive backdrop was brought to life by at least three hundred actors on stage, a congregation which prompted the review to assert that this was 'the most gorgeous and magnificent spectacle that has ever been presented on the stage of a Manchester theatre'. The Grieve's final scene depicting the marriage of Henry to Princess Katherine inside the Cathedral at Troyes '…simply transcends description' while the production was summed up thus: 'Splendid as Mr. Calvert's Shaksperian triumphs have been in the past, they must all give precedence to this gorgeous representation of "*Henry V*"'.[35]

It is important to note that Henry's entry into London is not part of the play. The Chorus briefly alludes to the event in the Prologue in the fifth act but does not describe it. If this spectacular high point of Calvert's revival was not drawn from Shakespeare, what was its purpose? According to Schoch, this historical supplement 'compensated, as it were, for Shakespeare's failure to document medieval history as exhaustively as a mid-Victorian audience would have liked'. The vitality of this tableau and its impact on its audience 'lay not so much in its poetic beauty or evocation of dramatic characters as in its purported historical reality'. It was 'a living historical action – a vibrant form of historical knowledge'.[36] These

tableaux also reinforced Calvert's role – like Kean before him – as an intellectual intermediary, conveying historical knowledge to the general public but, in Schoch's words, 'undertaking little primary research himself, requiring none from his audience, and yet giving them the full benefit of antiquarian lore in which they could place unreserved trust'.[37] The stage was an ideal environment in which this intellectual transfer could take place. Turning to Schoch again, '…theatrical performance, through the coherence of its *mise-en-scène*, rendered intelligible for a mass audience what would otherwise have been a scattered array of inarticulate and fragmented historical facts: the *disjecta membra* of a mute though glorious past'.[38]

In Calvert's hands, however, these tableaux took on another dimension as they provided insights into Calvert's deeply held religious convictions and his attitude to war. Darbyshire recalled that Calvert had 'conceived the idea of a series of Stage Tableaux or living pictures, which should illustrate the horrors of war and the blessings of peace'.[39] Kemble's production of 1789, repeated fifteen times until 1792, sought to stoke anti-French sentiment, which had increased with the onset of the French revolution, by means of a less ambivalent and more patriotic and heroic portrayal of Henry. Calvert's production instead reinstated the ambivalence and introduced a measure of pity towards the French. Henry was shown to be 'a pensive King'[40] and the battle itself was presented as 'an elaborate tableau' rather than a 'swaggering attempt to represent the dealing of actual blows'.[41] Henry's entry into London was an opportunity to present a sensitive mix of rejoicing and sorrow with 'the introduction of groups of anxious women' who looked at the faces of the returning troops for the 'sight of a husband, son or brother'.[42] Although the Dauphin was portrayed as revelling on the eve of Agincourt, it was without the excesses of Coleman's revival four years later which 'provoked

a storm of disapproval'.[43] Calvert had in fact previously employed tableaux to convey anti-war messages for philanthropic purposes. A group of six tableaux with names such as *Summoned to the War* and *The Prayer and the Church* and ending with an allegorical tableau entitled *The Dove and the Olive Branch* was staged at the Prince's Theatre throughout February and March 1871 as a prelude to each performance of *Timon of Athens* (itself composed entirely of eight tableaux) under Calvert's direction. The event raised over £300 for the War Victims' Fund before the performance moved to the Theatre Royal in Dublin.[44]

Opening on 28 September 1874, Calvert's final revival at the Prince's Theatre was 2 *Henry IV* in which he introduced a tableau almost as striking as the battle scene in *Henry V*, even if he had to insert an episode into the play to accommodate it. It illustrated the lying in state of Henry in Westminster Abbey: 'The glorious windows of the old abbey, rendered dim by the blaze of innumerable candles borne aloft by hundreds of chanting priests and singing boys'. The solemn Mass was said, the choristers sang above the sound of a pealing organ, then suddenly the 'surpliced crowd kneels with a sudden and simultaneous movement, thus producing an effect, heightened by the lighted tapers that they bear, which is as indescribable as it is effective'.[45] This tableau was impressive enough to be regarded as an attraction all of its own: 'SPECIAL NOTICE. —At 9.30, the Grand Spectacle of the LYING IN STATE of HENRY IV, in Westminster Abbey'.[46]

**LIGHTING**

Calvert's revivals could not have been so impressive without his employment of the latest developments in the use of lighting. The main innovation in stage lighting in the mid-nineteenth century was the introduction of limelight. A block of quicklime heated by a flame

combining hydrogen and oxygen generated a brilliant white light which could be employed to produce a flood of light evenly over the entire stage. Supplementing this broad brush technique was focused limelight where the beam was filtered through a clear or coloured filter providing a simple follow-spot and, according to Schoch, first employed by Kean in his *Henry VIII* in 1855 'when a beam of light was focused upon the host of angels who visited Queen Elizabeth as she slept'.[47] These developments made spectacular Shakespearean revivals, as staged by Kean, Phelps and Calvert, feasible. Materials which could reflect and refract light were extensively used with foils, glass and spangles sewn into costumes made of satins, silks and velvets. The suits of armour and the colourful heraldic devices in Calvert's *Henry V* bathed in beams of limelight would have presented a most colourful spectacle. In fact, Calvert's grouping of three hundred actors on stage would have been impossible without these materials since, as Booth points out, 'The proliferation of light-reflecting substances and highly coloured costume material…together with a new brilliancy of illumination that could penetrate all corners of the stage, enabled managers to employ large groups...attired in this way as extensions of the scenery, ranged around the back and sides of the stage'.[48]

In act five of *The Tempest*, Calvert's use of coloured lighting enhanced Holding's backdrop for Ariel who, having gained his liberty, prepares to leave the island: 'An open sea bears a grand old barque upon its placid basin, the sun goes down, a red and golden glory gleams on the water…'.[49] For his second revival, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Calvert and his contractors demonstrated an increasing adeptness at employing lighting to create mood. In Titania's bower, the fairy shadow dance was performed during which 'a flood of light is poured upon sloping plane, and the fairies are able to admire their own beauty and gracefulness by the shadows thrown upon the ground'. Lighting could also create a striking

finale. As Puck appeared, the scene changed to reveal the interior of a gorgeous palace towering high and having terraces studded with flowers, 'radiant with light and beauty…and with the aid of brilliant lighting [it] has an electric effect'.[50]

Only a handful of Calvert's promptbooks or annotated acting editions have survived but the few lighting cues they contain provide insights into his use of coloured filters and gauzes. In 1.2 when Puck enters the wood, Calvert directs the creation of a suitably verdant colour scheme using eight focussed limelights fitted with coloured filters:

> 2 Green mediums
> 2 green limes RH
> 2 *D[itt]o* LH
> 2 white proj[e]c[ted] from bridge
> forming Circle.[51]

At the end of the scene, just before the fairy shadow dance commences, we see how Calvert synchronised lighting with music:

> 8 bars then change
> Lime lights as before[52]

The annotations for the final scene of act 3 demonstrate how Calvert achieved a dreamlike effect. When Oberon accuses Puck 'This is thy negligence', he noted the following directions:

> Begin to lower lights
> Lights quite down
> Gauzes descend[53]

When Puck awakens Demetrius, Lysander, Helena and Hermia, his words are 'spoken in front of the first gauze'[54] and at the end of the scene the instruction 'gauzes up' was directed.[55] Assuming that everything behind the gauze was lit but the gauze itself was not, then a foggy, dream-like effect would have been achieved with Puck in sharp relief in front of

it. In the first act of *Henry V*, the 'Cloud Drop' was employed with the straightforward direction 'Lime Light on Chorus'[56] but for Henry's speech at the siege of Harfleur, Calvert created a much more dramatic atmosphere, as befitted the scene of a bloody conflict, with the stage bathed all over in red light generated by chemical flames instead of filters:

> Red fire in flies RH
> Red fire on stage RH
> Red fire out on stage[57]

The temptation to use new lighting techniques inappropriately could not always be resisted even by someone as skilful as Calvert. The final scene of *A Winter's Tale* was set in a sacrarium in the house of Paulina to which she invites the king and his attendants to view the statue of Hermione. Limelight was employed to illuminate the statue which was thrown into 'extraordinary relief. Surrounded by crimson drapery, which is slowly withdrawn, the statue stood in a flood of light, which clearly reveals every lineament'.[58] The *Manchester Times* was full of praise: 'The statue scene is simply perfect. It is a beautiful climax to a beautiful play'.[59] However another reviewer commented that the white pedestal on which Hermione stood detracted from the force and simplicity of the scene as a 'consequence of its surface being a more powerful reflection of the light than are the robes of the statue itself'.[60] This incident confirms Booth's view that 'The possibility of increasing light intensity meant that it *was* increased, and critics soon began to complain of the result and its impact upon the scene…'. In most cases it was the crudeness of the technique that was at fault as '…the general idea, except for specifically romantic effects, was to throw as much undifferentiated light as possible upon the actors and the scene'.[61]

Calvert may also have benefited from being able to illuminate the entire stage instantaneously by means of the simultaneous ignition of all gas jets by electricity, instead of having to light each jet individually by a long taper, an operation which would have interrupted the action:

> A battery is fixed at the wing on the prompt side, and this communicates with a wire, which travels along each of the battens. Opposite each jet is a fine wire springing from the principal wire, and when the battery is made to act, the spark travels along the wires, and, in an inconceivably short space of time, every jet about the stage is illuminated'.[62]

This apparatus had been used in the United States at, among other venues, Booth's and the Fifth Avenue theatres in New York, but Browne, manager of Manchester's Prince's Theatre, pioneered its use in Britain: 'Mr. [George] Browne has been the first to apply it in this country'. I have been unable to determine precisely when this apparatus was installed at the Prince's Theatre or whether Calvert was able to employ it but this description of its use there for Alfred Cellier's operetta *The Tower of London* in 1875 demonstrated its potential: 'Presently the stage is in perfect darkness; thunder is heard; and by flashes of lightning produced by electricity, the suits of armour are observed to move across the room. Upon conclusion of the scene the stage is illuminated with sudden brilliancy'.[63]

**ACTING EDITIONS**

In this section, I examine how Calvert built on Kean's approach to acting editions through their scholarly nature, educational value, regard to propriety, availability to the public and use as a vehicle to promote his views on the theatre. However, as a theatre manager, Calvert

would have been aware of the necessity of balancing these attributes with the fundamental need to 'create acting versions that were easy for audiences to follow, practical to stage, and inoffensive in language and incident'.[64]

The acting edition became popular with the advent of Bell's *Shakespeare* in 1773 which was widely used for promptbook-making for the next three decades. Kemble's acting editions of the plays in his own repertoire were printed and reprinted in the 1790s until about 1815. From the start of the nineteenth century so-called standard acting editions proliferated - Cumberland's *British Theatre* produced from 1823 to about 1861, for example. Theatre managers saw the production of inexpensive acting editions as a means of generating not only a wide readership but also an equally wide spectatorship. So, in the 1850s, Kean revived Kemble's practice of publishing his own versions of the plays as he staged them, then Calvert, Irving and others followed suit.

Kean and Calvert employed acting editions for more than commercial purposes. Kean used his acting editions to educate his audiences and to promote his antiquarian research, As Booth explains, '…scholarly footnotes to his printed texts were directly addressed to a theatregoing and reading public to whom the wholesale archaeologising of Shakespeare was new; they needed convincing by propaganda as well as performance'.[65] Kean included similar notes on his playbills: 'His three-leaf playbills, with a "flyleaf" setting out his archaeological authorities, are remarkable documents of diligence combined with educational fervour'.[66] His acting editions (for example, *The Winter's Tale*), are full of footnotes and extensive explanations at the end of each act.[67]

Similarly, Calvert was ‘a careful student of Shakespeare’ whose acting editions were ‘a pleasing memorial of his zeal and good sense’.[68] Calvert’s approach was meticulous. Beddoes Peacock, deputy manager and treasurer at the Prince’s Theatre from its opening, accompanied him to the Free Library at Heald Grove where Professor Andrea Crestadoro, chief librarian of the Manchester Free Libraries, placed at his disposal a ‘treasure’ (a second folio) so he could compare ‘the acting edition with the folio edition sentence by sentence, so that it might be truly said that the text had been faithfully followed’.[69] In the preface to his acting edition of *Richard III*, he lists the sources for his explanatory notes, citing such works as George Buck’s *The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard the Third* and Horace Walpole’s *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third*. Under *Dramatis Personae*, Calvert offers up his sources for the designs of several of the costumes such as King Edward IV from his portrait at Hampton Court by van Belcamp and the Duke of Buckingham from the Danse des Morts, Bibliothèque de Rouen.[70]

A review of Calvert’s acting edition of 2 *Henry IV* suggests that he was by now regarded not just as a manager but also as a scholar and educator, a fully-fledged intellectual intermediary: ‘His version of the play [is] embellished and rendered additionally interesting by the numerous foot notes and well-selected extracts with which it abounds. There are evident on every page the devotion of the student and the scholarly research of the accomplished Shaksperean devotee’. The public was advised to purchase a copy ‘… for by so doing they will derive additional pleasure as well as instruction from their visit’.[71] In Foulkes’s opinion, ‘…Calvert possessed a level of knowledge about and interest in the intricacies of Shakespearian scholarship, which was exceptional, unique even, for an actor of his day’.[72]

Wishing to appeal to as wide a clientele as possible, Calvert's acting editions also paid due regard to what was acceptable to Victorian audiences. A review of his first revival noted that 'A careful pruning of "The Tempest" removed every word that could offend the most delicate ear, without in the least injuring the spirit and integrity of the text'.[73] Calvert turned his observance of propriety into a commercial advantage by stating in an advertisement for *Much Ado About Nothing* that 'To render this comedy generally acceptable in representation, a few excisions have been made in the acting edition'.[74] In his acting edition of *The Merchant of Venice*, Calvert substituted 'heat' for 'lust', 'wanton' for 'strumpet' and 'whore' as well as excising sexually offensive exchanges such as the repartee between the Soothsayer and Mardian.[75] Even so, not everyone was happy. A correspondent signing themselves 'An Old Playgoer' recognised that, in *2 Henry IV*, Calvert had 'cut out much broad language' but wished that Miss Cuthbert's acting in the part of Doll Tearsheet could be toned down believing that '…there was not a lady present in the house on the night I attended who did not think the same'.[76]

Calvert, like Kean before him, made these acting editions available to the public, being placed on sale for two pence not just at the theatre box office but also at booksellers and music shops.[77] In contrast, Kean's acting edition of *The Winter's Tale* from 1856 cost ten times more – one shilling – and was only available from his Princess's Theatre so Calvert was likely to gain a larger readership for his more affordable and more widely marketed edition. Calvert was content for other acting companies to employ his texts without payment of royalties as a sort of 'open-source Shakespeare' for the masses. In an age that lacked any chance of recording performances, these acting editions were an important way of capturing a production's dramaturgy and interpretation for posterity. Yet, despite their significance to

theatrical historians, his editions were ephemeral artefacts with no more than six known to have survived for any play and for his final revival, *Henry VIII*, I have located only two copies, although all editions are available as digital downloads from several online repositories.

But these acting editions were much more than passive pieces of memorabilia. Calvert employed them to express his own views on the staging of the plays and today they testify to Calvert's determination to create the best textual bases for his revivals. Calvert used the preface to his acting edition of *A Winter's Tale*, dated 1 September 1869, to explain in robust terms his approach to his revivals: 'An atrabilious antagonist, some years ago, thought to lessen the high reputation of the late Charles Kean as an upholder of the drama, by writing of him as its "*upholsterer*"…Without scenery and costume of some kind, dramatic representation is simply impossible'.[78] From these acting editions we learn that, for Calvert, the scenery was not merely a decorative backdrop but a motivator for the cast: '…not only is the audience more impressed by the realism of the *mise en scène*, but that the actors themselves undoubtedly derive an impulse from it'.[79] In the concluding comments of this acting edition, Calvert explained the rationale behind his desire for realism and educational value by first paying homage to his previous managers:

> Strong in the convictions which I know animated my illustrious predecessors in stagecraft – Macready, Phelps, and Kean – I have done my utmost for the "Winter's Tale," holding with them the unwavering faith that, as Shakespere wrote for the stage, and *not* for the platform, to attire his great works in their appropriate vesture of scenery,

costume, and manners, is to advance the true interests and mission of pure dramatic art, and to inculcate a loftier appreciation of its greatest prophet'.[80]

In his preface to *The Merchant of Venice*, Calvert discussed the interaction between actor and properties, claiming that scenery and costume are important as a means of preventing a play from becoming dependent on one person: 'It is a common thing to hear the saying that "one goes to see the acting, not the scenery and dresses." This morsel of cant has done much harm…by placing the actor on the pedestal'. He criticised those who adapted the plays 'to *themselves*, subordinating the actions, the characters, the harmony of the whole, to the inflation of one central figure'. He feared that 'by giving an undue importance to the star part, the actor who fills…becomes pompous, extravagant, and declamatory'.[81] This is something Calvert successfully avoided, partly by casting himself in the lead role in nine of his revivals.

In his acting edition for *Richard III*, Calvert justified his repudiation of Cibber's version of the play: 'It will be seen that I have entirely disregarded the usual acting edition of the play by Colley Cibber', dismissing it as 'a compilation intended, I presume, to make the character of Richard something more than Shakspere intended…'.[82] He also asserted his belief that 'A re-arrangement of Shakspere's scenes *was* justifiable, for it is more than likely that one does not *touch* his own work *in* that respect ; but to re-write his dialogue and invert his plots was surely unpardonable, and could *only* be tolerated in an age when the public taste in such matters must have been (to say the least) eccentric'. In a footnote, Calvert quotes Charles Cowden Clarke in support of this stance: 'Let not English playgoers profess a veneration for the genius of Shakspere while they allow Colley Cibber's tiger-cat version of "Richard the 3rd" to keep possession of their stage, and to have the poet's name affixed as being the author of it'. Then

as a final barbed comment, he quotes from John Genest's *Some Account of the English Stage, from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*: 'To the advocates for Cibber's Richard, I only wish to make one request – that they would never say a syllable in favour of Shakspere'.[83]

Nevertheless, Calvert's own modifications to the text could be very bold. In his *The Merchant of Venice,* Belmont was not reached until the third act which was itself divided into two scenes, the first set in the Grand Hall of Portia's Palace and comprising Shakespeare's 1.2, 2.9, 2.1, 2.7 and 3.2, breaking at line 313 for the second scene, *The Chapel of Portia's Palace*, which incorporated the remaining parts of 3.2 and 3.4.[84] Calvert justified this reordering by claiming that 'In arranging for the stage the "Merchant of Venice", I have presumed so far to alter slightly the succession of scenes, and by keeping Belmont distinct from Venice I avoid, I hope, the distractions that the frequent change of locality must produce'.[85]

His changes to *Henry V* were more radical: the second act was formed from sections of the original's second and third acts while the fifth act commenced with the fourth scene from act three. One reviewer objected to the extent of his changes, asserting that 'A copy of the play as he has re-edited it is fortunately to be procured at the theatre, for the true text of the play would be of little use in the hands of the spectator' and describing the production as being 'mangled' and 'mauled' and made up of a 'patchwork' of selections from the original text. Also, Calvert's decision to move Chorus's speeches from the start to the middle of the act meant that when the curtain fell it bisected each act and caused 'a great deal of bewilderment'. The same reviewer ruefully concluded that 'it is not easy to see how the

objectionable act to which we have alluded can ever be remedied'.[86] However, given the play's critical and commercial success, this review did not reflect popular opinion.

**MUSIC**

In his choice of music Calvert could be equally bold and often sacrificed his usual insistence on historical accuracy to achieve the appropriate mood and atmosphere. According to Val Brodie, Calvert drew knowledgeably and subtly on opera, adapting more than thirty extracts.[87] For *The Tempest*, he employed the music of an unknown composer, Arthur Sullivan, whose score had not even been composed for a play but as a standalone graduation piece. In early 1863, Hallé had included Sullivan's work, now extended to twelve movements, in two concerts in Manchester. Perhaps Calvert attended one of these concerts or was made aware of Sullivan's work in some other way. In any event, Calvert's employment of his music was unusual as the work had been created entirely from Sullivan's imagination instead of being commissioned by a theatre manager for a specific production. This was the first time Sullivan's music had been employed in a theatrical context but he went on to compose incidental music for Calvert's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Henry VIII*. However, he was less at ease when writing on demand and needed some direction: 'If you don't come at once I shall never do the music. I have sketches, but I can put nothing into form. Make me out a little Scenario, and find me words'.[88]

Despite these challenges, Sullivan's music for *The Merchant of Venice* was described as 'very sparkling and attractive' and he was 'warmly received on his appearance in the orchestra'.[89] Arthur Jacobs points out that Sullivan did not write historically accurate music but composed scores which were 'characteristic, that is with picturesque touches…to suggest a suitably

unusual scenic location or period, sometimes by means of dance'. For the Lorenzo Masque occurring at the end of Calvert's first act, Sullivan provided a song newly written in Italian, 'Nel Ciel Seren', 'in the barcarole rhythm particularly associated in the nineteenth century with Venice'.[90] For *Henry VIII*, Sullivan created an interpolated song, 'Pastime with Good Company' to words 'which are thought to be by King Henry himself'. According to Jacobs, the music displayed the 'characteristic' rather than the strictly historically accurate manner: '…in a nineteenth-century context the beginning would have sounded suitably Tudor-ish'.[91] For incidental music, Calvert demonstrated an eccentric eclecticism that was entirely divorced from any pretence of historical authenticity. Nowhere was this more evident than in his selection for *A Winter's Tale* in which excerpts from 'the works of Mozart, Spohr, Gounod, Mehul, Wagner and Verdi, &c., &c'. accompanied the play's Grecian settings.[92]

**FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT**

Like Knowles, financial considerations informed all of Calvert's artistic decisions. As the theatre's only revenue stream was ticket sales, it was necessary to attract an affluent customer base. Foulkes points out that although the population of Manchester had rapidly grown, 'it was the patronage of the well-to-do that was required to make the theatre respectable and solvent'.[93] Also, social and religious prejudice against the theatre expressed itself in support of other forms of entertainment so that the theatre was in competition with, for example, Hallé's classical music concerts at the Free Trade Hall which had opened in 1856. Calvert's response was to make his theatre respectable and dedicated not to low melodrama but to 'serious drama' such as Shakespeare which, he believed, had the power to educate as well as to entertain.

Economic considerations also drove Calvert's enthusiasm for spectacular effects. Spectacle was 'a homogeneous, a ubiquitous taste that had nothing to do with income levels, employment, living conditions or class position' so Calvert embraced it as a means of achieving a 'one-nation' appeal for Shakespeare by attracting audiences from all sections of society, not just those prosperous middle-class participants whose attendance was so important to the theatre's financial viability.[94] Commentators such as Nicoll, writing in 1946, had claimed that during the early part of the nineteenth century, '[t]ypical audiences were composed mainly of lower-class citizens' while 'the staid middle class and the respectable, dignified nobility tended to look upon the stage as a thing not to be supported in an active manner'.[95] By 1991 Booth was able to assert that 'it is a serious over simplification to picture the nineteenth-century theatre…as climbing slowly out of a swamp of mob rule and working-class domination in the earlier part of the century to reach an eminence of profound Victorian decorum and middle-class and fashionable patronage of the theatre'.[96] Despite the composition of early Victorian audiences being sometimes misrepresented, it remains the case that the Victorian stage tended towards greater respectability. This trend was attributable not only to productions of Kean and Calvert but also to wider social improvements.

The expansion of the railway network around Manchester encouraged theatregoing from the prosperous suburbs and the countryside as well as from industrial towns such as Bury and Rochdale. The railway companies even amended their timetables so patrons could catch the last train home. The founding of the Manchester Borough Police in the late 1830s, becoming Manchester City Police when city status was conferred on the town in 1853, made the theatre experience a more secure one. In 1893, electric street lighting was installed in five thoroughfares around Market Street and by 1900 the entire city centre, including all the

streets on which the main theatres and railway stations were located, enjoyed the benefit of electric lighting.

There were economic factors in play as well. As Booth notes, 'Labour was cheap and not unionised, although there were agreements on working practices with stage staff; production costs were reasonable; and the breakeven point in terms of box-office percentages and seating capacity could be relatively low'.[97] When Davis and Emeljanow write that Kean created a theatre where the audience 'could feel they were acquiring cultural capital, and which accorded directly with the aspirations of an upwardly mobile middle class', and that theatre managers now regarded the audience as 'informed and educated tourists who were seeking new knowledge or at least its representation', these comments are equally applicable to theatre created by Calvert.[98]

Consequently, unlike Kean and Macready, Calvert's revivals were consistently profitable, bringing financial stability to the Prince's Theatre, despite the severe local economic difficulties pertaining at the time of his first revival in 1864. Peacock recalled the success of *The Tempest* which Calvert achieved despite 'Lancashire…going through the throes of a cotton famine' caused by overproduction in a time of contracting world markets and by the blockading of the southern American ports during the Civil War which interrupted cotton imports. The situation was aggravated by a meeting of cotton workers in Manchester on 31 December 1862 who decided to boycott American cotton in support of Abraham Lincoln and the anti-slavery faction, despite their own consequent impoverishment. Nevertheless, *The Tempest* was performed thirty-one times in 1864 with a total attendance of 62,000 and was reproduced the following Easter with a further fourteen performances.[99] On 7 December

1872, the run of *Henry V* ended after seventy-four performances and Calvert chose this occasion to give an address. Of its financial success, he said: 'There had been a greater amount of money paid to obtain admission to the performance of "Henry V" during its 12 weeks' run'.[100] Calvert also changed the widely held view that Shakespeare was a certain lossmaker: 'When others were declaring that…Shakespere would never pay, the manager at the Prince's undertook to demonstrate that the thing would be fairly remunerative if it were only properly done. We need not say that the result amply justified his expectations'.[101]

As Calvert was the manager and not the proprietor of the Prince's Theatre, what motivated him to improve its financial position? Its owner, the Manchester Public Entertainment Company Limited, was, as its name suggests, an enterprise with limited liability which had the freedom to mobilise capital 'for a purpose with sometimes local appeal that would not impress professional financiers'.[102] The company incentivised Calvert by supplementing his salary with a quarter-share of the profits, his interest in the theatre's long-term success rising in line with the value of his share of the profits.[103] As Davis points out, this approach stimulated a spirit of innovation: 'Limited liability does not…signal the end of the personally involved owner-manager. As personal risk is reduced so attention is freed for more productive concerns'.[104]

Calvert's commercial model proved nimble enough to be summoned at short notice to address immediate financial problems. Closest to the day-to-day running of Calvert's financial affairs was Beddoes Peacock and it is thanks to his evidence that we can see how the revival of *Timon of Athens*, described as 'a most agreeable surprise', was produced as a short-term expedient in March 1871 to reverse a deteriorating financial situation.[105] In 1870,

the Prince's Theatre purchased 'for a large sum of money' the American writer Daniel Parish Kidder's *Handsome is That Handsome Does* and invested in expensive sets and costumes but 'the cost of dragging it through the country, everywhere to meet with failure, soon began to make inroads into the ample balance at the bank'. Nor did that year's pantomime, Alfred Thompson's *Harlequin Blackbird*, turn out to be as successful as its predecessors. According to Peacock, 'It had been the custom for Mr. Calvert in such a case to strengthen the bill with a "Shakespearean vamp"'.[106]

The choice of 'vamp' certainly was a novel one, never having been seen in Manchester before and, in the opinion of one newspaper, 'it is doubtful whether a score of our citizens every saw it represented on the stage'.[107] As well as being a novel choice, Calvert broke away from the approach taken to his previous revivals, presumably in response to the urgency of its production. Recalling his illustrated readings of 1864, Calvert reduced the eighteen scenes and five acts of the original play to eight tableaux.[108] Although Calvert's wife states that 'scarcely any money was spent on it' and that 'the scenery and dresses of *The Winter's Tale* were utilized',[109] advertisements claim that the scenery was the work of Thomas Grieve (three tableaux) and Perkins (four tableaux).[110] Reviews of the play are few in number, but one describes the scenery as not being a mere recycling of previous revivals but as being 'quite on a scale with the now long-drawn list of its magnificent predecessors'.[111] Nor was it 'a cunning combination of the wealth of scenery which must be stored up somewhere within easy access' and the work of Grieves and Perkins was described as 'never more thoroughly effective'.[112] Shakespeare, instead of being seen as a certain lossmaker was now regarded as a certain commercial success which, in the hands of Calvert at least, could be called upon at short notice in times of financial difficulties to place the business back on a sure footing.

Furthermore, Peacock explained that throughout his eight years at the theatre, during which he had the figures before him daily, 'Shakspere, so far from spelling bankruptcy…yielded handsome profits to the Prince's Theatre exchequer'. Even the less profitable productions still made a positive contribution. The production of *Anthony and Cleopatra* did not generate much profit but Peacock points out that if the receipts were not great then neither was the cost of production nor the weekly expenses while the costumes were available for later reuse. Against the charge that *The Tempest* had been a success merely because 'the *éclat* scarcely separable from the opening of a new theatre must have contributed in a great measure to it', Peacock points out that 'the last week's receipts exceeded those of the first, or opening week'.[113]

Just two days after the end of its run, Calvert extracted more revenue from *Antony and Cleopatra* by reusing some of the scenery for his production of *Julius Caesar*. The scenery representing an atrium in Caesar's house in Rome employed for *Antony and Cleopatra* 1.2, 2.2 and 3.1 would have done service for *Julius Caesar* 2.2, set in the same location. The Grieves' *Rome in the Time of the Triumvirate* employed for *Antony and Cleopatra* 2.1 would also have convincingly represented the streets and public places of Rome in *Julius Caesar* 1.1 - 1.3 and 2.3 -2.4. Although he did not regard it as a full revival, Calvert still achieved historical accuracy elsewhere in the play by commissioning two new backdrops, the *Interior of the Capitol* by Holding and the *Tent of Brutus near Sardis* by Holt, both of which were described as 'very striking and meritorious specimens of the scenic art'.[114] Anticipating his later transfers of total productions, the scenery for *Antony and Cleopatra* was reused in the Princess's Theatre in London in May 1867, this being the only example of scenery created in Manchester being transferred to the capital, presumably the influence of the Grieve family on

Holding and Holt having ensured the scenery was of a sufficiently high standard for metropolitan audiences.[115]

Calvert achieved early financial success despite the physical limitations inherent in the original internal configuration of the Prince's Theatre which constrained its ability to generate revenue. In a previous chapter I explained how Knowles had designed his Theatre Royal to support a business model, but the first proprietors of the Prince's Theatre had been more cautious and had scaled down their initial plans in favour of creating a theatre with a greater feeling of homeliness – subdued green upholstery, gilding, decorative medallions of dramatists and poets – and seating which provided each member of the audience with '15 to 20 per cent more room than is usually afforded in places of public entertainment'.[116] The theatre held approximately 1,500 people with seat prices ranging from 4s. for the orchestra stalls to 1s. for the pit and 6d. for the gallery. In addition, Calvert became frustrated by the 'pin-pricks of annoyances'[117] from the directors and he wished 'to be his own master, free from the pound and pence supervision'.[118] He resigned in June 1867, shortly before the end of his three-year contract and was replaced by Henry Haynes who had been a junior member of Calvert's company. However, under Haynes's management, the fortunes of the theatre declined to such an extent that it was placed into liquidation. In April 1868, the theatre was purchased from them by a new company, The Prince's Theatre Company, whose principal backers were Abel Heywood, a successful Manchester printer and bookseller, and George Harrie 'Boston' Browne, a Manchester hotelier and merchant. The new proprietors invited Calvert to return on more favourable terms with the freedom he needed to develop his revivals.[119]

Calvert and the owners could now address the limited capacity of the theatre which had become a severe constraint on revenue growth. In 1869, a contract for the reconstruction of its interior was awarded to the local architect, Darbyshire, whose task was to 'devise a scheme by which the house should be stretched to its utmost capacity'.[120] Under Darbyshire's plan, the extra capacity was achieved by increasing the number of cheaper seats:

> The ceiling has been raised by 8 ft. [2.4m], and the upper circle [originally only two rows]… has been extended backwards to the limit of the auditorium, filling the space before occupied by the gallery ; while the increased height obtained by raising the ceiling has enabled the architect to reconstruct the gallery *over* the upper circle. By this means three hundred additional seats are gained.[121]

These changes, coupled with Browne's willingness to fund improvements out of his own resources – the 1874 replacement of the flat ceiling with a dome being one example – gave the Prince's Theatre the chance to increase revenue and to provide Calvert with the ideal environment within which to stage his revivals.

**COMMERCIAL INNOVATION**

Calvert's desire to rigorously manage financial affairs led him to design a device to eliminate ticket office fraud – Calvert's Recorder (illustration 4.3). It had been long-standing problem that the money-takers at the doors colluded with the check-takers on the staircase to deceive the manager into believing that the attendance was lower than it was. The check-takers could perpetrate the fraud by returning the metal checks to the money-takers below concealed in a newspaper or a pot of beer. The patent for Calvert's Recorder, numbered 178, was lodged with the Patent Office on 20 January 1870 and was described as '*Admission - fees, registering*

*and checking ; indicating at a distance electronically*'. When the ticket office staff pressed a fingerplate, the device dispensed a check and simultaneously an electronic counter located in the manager's office was advanced by one so the manager could obtain a real time view of the audience's arrival. The person in charge of the ticket office then placed the check in a hopper below the machine which made another contact causing a second electronic counter in the manager's office also to advance. The two counters and contents of the hopper could be reconciled at the end of the evening's performance.[122]

With typical shrewdness, Calvert sold the rights to manufacture this device to Alfred Whittey and Herbert Chatteris of London who, in July 1870, promoted the device via an advertisement in the *Era* as the 'Calvert Recorder' or 'Infallible Check and Time Keeper' for use not only in theatres but also factories, music halls and restaurants.[123] The device was employed at Drury Lane, the Globe Theatre, Torquay's Assembly Rooms and other venues around the country so business for the two gentlemen was good for some months.[124] Indeed, one correspondent stated that 'The most effectual mode of preventing any frauds on a manager would certainly appear to be that invented and patented by Mr. Calvert, of the Princess's [*sic*] Theatre, Manchester, and, under the name of the "Calvert Patent Recorder", is now being adopted by nearly every place of metropolitan entertainment'.[125]

However, a dispute arose with one of their partners, James Payne Morgan, who had agreed to purchase half the patent for £1,500 using bills and securities which Whittey and Chatteris had refused to accept as genuine.[126] Morgan was, in fact, W. E. Gray, an American swindler and a perpetrator of frauds on Wall Street with debts of £60,000. On 17 June 1871, Morgan arrived at the home of Chatteris armed with a seven-barrelled shotgun and threatened to shoot him, a

threat which he did not, in fact, carry out.[127] At his trial, no evidence was offered by the prosecution, he instead pleading guilty to the considerably less serious offence of common assault and being released on his own recognisances.[128] On 12 July 1871, both Chatteris and Morgan were listed as bankrupts.[129] It is ironic that a device designed to eliminate dishonesty and fraud prompted both.

Calvert introduced another commercial innovation for his revival of *A Winter's Tale* in 1869. The popularity of the previous revival, *Antony and Cleopatra*, had caused crushing at the entrance which had required the intervention of the police to resolve. Calvert's response was to announce that 'tickets for the Upper Circle will be sold at the Box-office, admitting the holders in the evening by the Dress Circle entrance, previous to the opening of the Upper Circle doors'.[130] Calvert had now introduced the concept of 'early doors' at the theatre to Manchester and it may be that this concept is a Mancunian invention as I have not located an earlier reference to this phrase.

As well as being an innovator, Calvert was also the cause of innovation in others. The low sensitivity of early photographic emulsions required long exposure times so subjects had to be well-lit and stationary to avoid blurred images. Calvert's motionless tableaux with their brightly coloured reflective costumes on a stage illuminated from every corner were suitable photographic subjects and seem to have inspired the taking of the first stage photograph. In a copy of Calvert's acting edition of *Henry V*, inscribed by Calvert to a Mr. Keeling, Spira discovered two albumen prints, one reproducing a painting or drawing of the Battle of Agincourt from act 2, the other a photograph of the tableau depicting this scene as enacted in Calvert's revival on the stage of the Prince's Theatre (illustration 4.2). It is captioned 'Taken

in the theatre at midnight' and is initialled 'ChC' by Calvert.[131] If the photograph had been taken at midnight, then this would have been after the performance had finished for the night, which is likely, given the impossibility of setting up the camera during a live performance. Spira could not confirm whether these prints were bound into every copy of the acting edition, but my research confirms they were not. As for the claim that this is the earliest known example of stage photography, Joseph Byron is the name often associated with innovations in stage photography and his earliest work was of Homer Farnham Emens's setting for the sawmill scene in Joseph Arthur's melodrama *Blue Jeans* from 1890.[132] Martin Laroche's photos of productions in the 1850s could have been taken in the theatre, but they are likely to be studio photographs with set elements brought in to dress them up.[133] It seems, therefore, that this photograph of Calvert's tableau from *Henry V* is the earliest known example of theatre photography.

**INFLUENCE ON THEATRE MANAGEMENT**

To assess Calvert's influence on theatre management outside Manchester, an examination of Saker's revivals at his Alexandra Theatre in Liverpool is instructive. According to Jackson, 'In Liverpool, Calvert's friend Saker, inspired by his example, undertook his own series of revivals'.[134] The two men had collaborated previously. On 20 March 1867, Saker and Calvert produced and appeared in *Louis XI* with Saker's own company in London.[135] Calvert played Caliban in *The Tempest* during November 1867[136] and produced *Manfred* in December 1867,[137] with the Grieves as scenery painters for both Liverpool productions. The chief parts of Saker's production of *The Winter's Tale* in February 1868 were taken by Calvert and his wife.[138]

As Jackson points out, 'There is little evidence of Saker's working methods, but we know he began with help from Calvert before supervising his second revival, *Much Ado About Nothing*, without his assistance'.[139] Like Kean, Calvert had employed, in Schoch's words, '…a rhetoric of synecdoche, in which the diverse fragments of theatrical performance (acting, text, design, and spectacle) assimilated to evoke the presence of material continuity of the past', and Saker followed their examples.[140] Saker's first revival, *The Winter's Tale* in 1876, demonstrated many similarities with Calvert's approach. For example, the trial of Hermione revealed Saker's enthusiasm for spectacle and innovative use of lighting. In fact from this account Saker may have employed the instantaneous igniting of all gas jets as employed in 1875 at Manchester's Prince's Theatre for Cellier's operetta *The Tower of London*:

> When Leontes defied the oracle, the stage was darkened, a thunderbolt glanced across towards the dais which the king and his entourage occupied and '[a]t the same moment…there darted upon the upper tiers…a pale, steel-blue radiance, in whose ghastly but intense light the figures on those distant benches were seen in similar poses of terror'.[141]

But Saker did not blindly follow Calvert's model and was prepared to relinquish spectacular effects when appropriate. In the preface to his edition of *The Comedy of Errors*, he stated that this comedy 'admits of less *spectacular* display than any of my former productions' because the play was 'so full of farcical humour, that to interrupt the action by pageantry or processional display, would mar the effect intended'.[142]

Like Calvert, Saker employed a variety of scenic artists. Although Brunton, the theatre's resident artist, supervised the scenery for all his revivals, the ballroom setting in *Much Ado About Nothing* was the work of Thomas Grieve and described as 'a magnificently built-up hall, lit by ponderous chandeliers, and very beautifully decorated'.[143] Saker's use of music was, like Calvert's, eclectic. For his *Much Ado About Nothing* alone he employed selections from 'Beethoven, Corelli, Gluck, Gounod, Kretschmer, Kuhlan, Louis XIII., Mendelssohn, Stevens and Spontini'.[144] There is also evidence of his desire to achieve historical accuracy. Imitating Calvert's correspondence with Rawdon Browne for his *The Merchant of Venice*, for his *Much Ado About Nothing*, Saker was 'in personal communication with a gentleman in Messina…with the view of having further light thrown on the surroundings of the revival'.[145]

Saker adopted Calvert's bold approach to the text, being unafraid to make substantial changes of his own with cuts, moving of scenes and interpolations. In Saker's acting edition of *The Winter's Tale*, the text of the opening scene, the commentary on costumes and the 'Notes on Greek Vases' are copied *verbatim* from Kean. However, the text of 1.2 differs greatly from Kean's version while for the text of *Much Ado About Nothing* he 'made substantial cuts to accommodate his view of Messina…'[146] and 'interpolated an elaborate recessional at the end of the denunciation sequence'.[147] Like Calvert, Saker's acting editions included insights into his approach to management and also demonstrate how his aspirations mirrored Calvert's, for example: 'I will endeavour to prove that Shakespere *does not mean ruin*'[148] Just as Calvert's acting edition included informative footnotes, so Saker provided educational content, such as glossarial notes for *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* to aid the reader's understanding of the text.[149] Like Calvert but unlike Kean, all of this translated into continued profitability for his theatre which had in fact been profitable for some years before his first revival. His Christmas

pantomimes, for example, ‘always realised from £9,000 to £12,000 profit, never less’ while ‘his revivals were all pecuniary triumphs’.[150]

Although the decline of resident stock companies and the increase in complete productions brought by touring companies made it difficult for theatres to identify with their local communities, both Calvert and Saker proved that Shakespeare need not mean ruin. Moreover, both of their theatres developed distinct identities as centres of amusement and art which contributed to their city’s cultural life as equals in rank and reputation with competing institutions such as the Art Gallery and Free Trade Hall in Manchester and the Walker Art Gallery and St. George’s Hall in Liverpool.

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 3 – MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE ON THE WORLD STAGE

In this chapter I argue that Calvert was the first manager to achieve international artistic and commercial success by exporting Shakespearean revivals and by creating a method which, if followed, would guarantee artistic and financial success. I demonstrate that this international success was entirely accidental, however. Irving's financial problems at the Lyceum forced him to generate additional revenue by touring but, during his management of the Prince's Theatre, Calvert achieved a consistent financial performance so was never compelled by financial pressures to tour either in Britain or overseas. Instead, his entry into the United States was at the invitation of the New York theatre owners, Henry Jarrett and Henry Palmer, and Calvert himself had no ambitions beyond his involvement there.

First, I examine two domestic transfers before discussing his sale of *Richard III* in 1871 as a packaged revival to the United States and the reasons for its failure. I next describe the purchase of his version of *Henry V* by the Prince of Wales Theatre in Birmingham before moving on to discuss the international success of that production. I then explain how Calvert's *Henry V* made Rignold the first international Shakespearean celebrity and changed the way in which Jarrett and Palmer approached theatre management, as demonstrated by their production of *Julius Caesar*. As a counterpoint to these success stories, I conclude by examining Coleman's failed application of Calvert's methods to his own version of *Henry V.*

Calvert was not the first manager to produce a Shakespearean revival overseas. In 1846, Charles Kean staged a revival of *King John* which ran for eighteen nights. Kean used this as a showcase for his scholarly and antiquarian credentials and according to Schoch this revival was 'a dress rehearsal for those yet to come at the Princess's Theatre in London'.[1] The crucial

difference between these and Calvert's exports was that Calvert did not use them as a 'dress rehearsal' but rather they were at the request of other managers in response to the successes he had already achieved at the Prince's Theatre in Manchester.

Calvert's first transfer of a complete production occurred in May 1867 when George Vining, manager of London's Princess's Theatre, produced *Antony and Cleopatra* using the scenery, costumes and acting edition previously used in Calvert's production of the play in September 1866. Vining met with such success that between 15 May 1867 and 11 June 1867 'this version…was performed more times (twenty-four in all) than any other production of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the stage history of the play to that date'.[2]

Calvert's next transfer took place in September 1867 when he was engaged at the Theatre Royal in Newcastle for a month, during which he produced *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Julius Caesar*, and *1 Henry IV*. (The latter two were never produced as full revivals in Manchester). According to Manktelow, 'this residency was far more substantial than that of provincial tragedians or London stars' in that he brought not just his company but scenery as well.[3] It seems certain that this was the scenery used for *Antony and Cleopatra* in Manchester since Cleopatra's palace at Alexandria is described as being 'from the pencil of the talented artist, Mr T. Grieve'.[4] Presumably this scenery had been returned from Vining's theatre following its run there. This transfer was an unusual, perhaps pioneering, move. As Manktelow tells us, 'when touring productions became widespread in the 1870s it remained highly unusual for Shakespeare productions to transfer from one provincial theatre to another, even from cities as economically and cultural powerful as Manchester'.[5] It seems safe to assume that Calvert's own acting editions were employed. This inter-regional transfer was a cultural and financial

success: ‘those who seek culture from the drama as in the best sense an educator, will appreciate with as great a relish the production of “Antony and Cleopatra” as of the best of the Shakespearian revivals. What enhances the pleasurable feeling… is the amazing fidelity in scenery, in dress, in stage up-get, which Mr Charles Calvert observes’.[6] By this point the scenery and costumes for *Antony and Cleopatra* had been used in Manchester, London and Newcastle and, with additions, for *Julius Caesar* in Manchester and Newcastle.

Calvert had thus proved that he could transport scenery over long distances by train and road and that audiences outside Manchester could appreciate his revivals for their artistic and educational value as well as for their financial potential. Calvert’s sound financial situation meant he had no reason to tour so further transfers were instigated by managers whose financial fortunes were less favourable than his. The timing for international exports was propitious, as Jane Moody explains: ‘The final abolition of patent monopoly in 1843 had established the institutional conditions for free dramatic trade’.[7] Consequently, ‘From the 1850s, Britain was exporting leading performers like Charles Kean and William Macready, and indeed entire productions, often for months at a time: the empire, together with America, provided British theatre with a new and lucrative cultural market’.[8]

## *RICHARD III* IN NEW YORK – 1871

In this section I explain why the proprietors of a New York theatre approached Calvert with the intention of purchasing his revival of *Richard III* and how, despite its failure, it served as a prototype for later successes.

Prominent among New York's theatre producers in the 1860s were Jarrett and Palmer. Around 1851, Jarrett, a former actor, became the manager of the Barnum Museum in Baltimore which had been converted into a theatre. Later he moved to New York and in 1864 formed a business partnership with Palmer. Just as the destruction by fire of the second Theatre Royal in Manchester provided Knowles with an opportunity to construct a new theatre to support his business model, so a fire in a New York theatre provided Jarrett and Palmer with a similar opportunity. In 1866, they returned from Europe with a production of *La Biche au Bois* (*The Hind in the Woods*) by the French writer Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, which included ballet dancers from Paris, London and Berlin. They intended to open the production in New York's Academy of Music but, before it could be staged, fire destroyed the theatre, leaving them with a troupe of unemployed dancers and many tons of costumes, scenery and accessories. Jarrett approached the manager of Niblo's Garden, William Wheatley, in the hope of reaching an agreement to use that venue instead. (Niblo's Garden had opened around 1830 as a restaurant and garden but was later converted into a 3,500 seat theatre.) Running at the theatre was a second-rate melodrama, Charles Barras's *The Black Crook*, the plot of which was formed from an uneasy blending of *Faust* and Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, in which a wicked hunchback makes a contract with the Devil to deliver one human soul in return for an extra year of life. The chosen soul, Rudolph, is saved

from his doom by the Queen of the Golden Realm who takes him to Fairyland while the Black Crook is dragged off to the Underworld.[9]

In a daring move of which Knowles himself would have been proud, Jarrett suggested that he revamp the play into a musical drama so he could employ his ballet dancers. This suggestion was accepted so Jarrett transformed it into a spectacular musical production with a fairyland motif and a hundred ballet dancers. Jarrett and Palmer paid Barras $1,500 for the script and invested $55,000 in the theatre making extensive changes such as excavating under the stage so the scenery could rise and fall beneath the floor. The spectacular effects included flying fairies, crystal grottos, fountains and flashes of lightning while the dynamic movement of the scenery had never been seen in New York before where the flat backdrop had been the norm. *The Black Crook* became the most successful production in the city, its first run lasting 474 performances over sixteen months. It grossed over $1,000,000 not including the proceeds from the company which took the play to Great Britain for 204 performances and to twenty cities in America.[10]

It seems that Jarrett and Palmer with their bold approach to theatre architecture and scenery allied to excellent financial management would find in Calvert a kindred spirit. It has not been possible to establish exactly why Jarrett and Palmer decided to stage a Shakespeare play, but it is likely that the success of the plays at the Booth's Theatre coupled with the difficulties they were encountering with Charles Fechter, the lead actor in Victor Hugo's *Ruy Blas*, prompted them to tap into the market for Shakespeare. According to the *Era* of 6 February 1870, 'Unfortunately for Mr. Fechter, and still more so for Messrs. Jarrett and Palmer, the company at Niblo's is not a good one, and the play is badly mounted…It is

rumoured that already the star has quarreled [*sic*] with the Management, and at the end of thirty-six nights his contract with them will be cancelled'.[11]

In contrast, at Booth's Theatre, Shakespeare continued to bring in the crowds. The same reviewer in the *Era* noted that 'Mr. Booth continues his performance of Hamlet…and the impersonation improves on every occasion. The houses, too, show no sign of falling off, but every night sees a large audience assemble, often composed of people one never meets elsewhere – semi-straight-laced citizens who shudder at the mere mention of melodrama or burlesque, but consider Shakespeare entirely proper'.[12] To rub salt into Jarrett and Palmer's wounds, 'Mr. Edwin Booth has made Mr. Fechter a fabulous offer for his services at Booth's Theatre, the two gentlemen play on alternate nights…Certainly the latter move would be a very clever stroke of policy on the part of Mr. Booth'.[13]

Jarrett and Palmer may have wanted to improve their financial position by producing serious drama to attract the 'semi-strait-laced' citizens who were likely to have a higher-than-average income. What better plan could there be than purchasing certain success in the shape of Calvert's *Richard III* as a package – acting edition, scenery, costumes and properties – which had run for a month in Manchester and had achieved great critical acclaim and financial success? One newspaper report commented that 'Stimulated perhaps by Mr. Booth's signal prosperity in the same field, the Management of Niblo's Garden have brought out this week a revival of "Richard the Third"'.[14] Another report confirms the provenance of the production: 'Messrs. Jarrett and Palmer, the lessees, having purchased the costumes, properties and scenery, from the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, where the play was produced with brilliant success last November'.[15] One source claims that *Richard III* cost £4,000 to produce in

Manchester and was sold to Jarrett and Palmer for half that amount[16] while another states that they paid £1,200 for the rights to the production.[17] Whatever the exact cost, it represented a small outlay for Jarrett and Palmer who had invested many times that on modifications to their theatre.

Calvert was unwilling to travel to New York as actor-manager owing to other commitments in Manchester, so Jarrett and Palmer oversaw the production themselves and engaged the English actor James Bennett to play the lead, a choice which was initially applauded: 'Birmingham playgoers will feel interested in hearing that Mr. James Bennett, the well-known tragedian and an actor especially admired and honourably respected in the Midland Counties…is engaged to appear at Niblo's Theatre, New York, as *Richard the Third*, from the text of Shakspere'.[18] One report enthused that the play will open 'in gorgeous style…with real horses in it, and a London actor is engaged expressly for the chief part'.[19] Jarrett and Palmer seemed well set to equal or even exceed the artistic standard and financial rewards of productions of Shakespeare's plays at Booth's Theatre.

Full of confidence, an advertisement for the production hailed it as a 'MAGNIFICENT PAGEANT'.[20] Another proudly declared the play's provenance, having been 'adapted to the modern stage by Charles Calvert, Esq., of Manchester, England' and boasted of its 'PERFECTION IN SCENERY, SPLENDOR OF COSTUME, MAGNIFICENCE OF APPOINTMENTS, ARMORS, BANNERS, WEAPONS, INSIGNIA and a GRAND COMBINATION OF SHAKSPERIAN ARTISTS'.[21] When it opened on 10 April 1870, initial reactions were positive. One review commented that this production 'in point of scenes and dresses, throws even the well-remembered essay of the Keans into the shade'.[22] In

remarks that could have been lifted from the Manchester press, the *Hebrew Leader* commented that the 'magnificent scenery and glittering appointments of the play are in marked contrast to anything of the kind ever presented. Its setting is unsurpassable, and nothing has been left undone to present "Richard the Third" with historical accuracy in every scene and costume'.[23]

The *New York Times* described the scenery and costumes as being 'impossible to excel in beauty, correctness or completeness' but pointed out fundamental flaws which would ultimately serve to undermine the production. It believed that 'A mistake has been made in discarding the better-known acting-edition of "Richard III" in favor of the closet-copy. And an error much more serious has been committed in the engagement of a performer ill-suited to the task of impressing his hearers with the characteristics of *Richard III*, and, as a consequence, with the significance of the play'.[24] This review also noted shortcomings in Calvert's acting edition: 'Not only is it unfamiliar, but, for stage purposes, it is ineffective. Were its endless changes of localities alone in question, its use ought to have been elided. The tableau curtains hide the stage from the eye at least twenty times during the progress of the entertainment, and the continuity of thought is often interrupted'.[25] The ingredients that made the play such a success in Manchester were not to find acceptance in New York. Perhaps all the demand for Shakespeare was being met at Booth's Theatre or perhaps Niblo's Garden could not prise any of the 'semi-strait-laced' clients from Booth's leaving it to cater for audiences more usually content with the melodrama which had preceded *Richard III*.

After just seven days, Jarrett and Palmer reacted to the criticism and poor attendances by changing both the lead actor and the text. On 17 April 1871, Calvert's acting edition was

replaced by Cibber's and Neil Warner, whose representation of Richmond had received favourable comment, replaced Bennett. One review commented that 'The two changes are made not a whit too soon, and they are highly effective' and, with Cibber's version (perhaps containing its added soliloquies) replacing 'a more respected but less liked version', prophesied that, 'there seems to be no obstacle to its attainment of a long and profitable run'.[26]

This prophesy was unfulfilled, however, and the play's final performance occurred on 29 April 1871. The press described the management as 'zealous and energetic' and commented that Warner deserved credit for 'a spirited and careful embodiment of *Richard'* but the public from the start 'did not fancy the original text' and 'were disappointed in the chief figure'.[27] For the final night, Warner was replaced by Count Joannes, the stage-name of the English actor George Jones. This decision was expected to attract a 'crowded and enthusiastic audience', a prediction made because of Joannes's notoriety and eccentricity rather than because of his acting abilities.[28] In fact, the engagement of Joannes, who by this time was part-actor and part-amateur lawyer, represents the final abandonment by the managers of any pretence to put on the stage a version of *Richard III* which could compete in quality with that produced in Manchester. Joannes's engagement should instead be regarded as a desperate attempt to achieve at least one full house before the end of the run.

Nothing could now salvage the production. It was described as 'a disastrous failure' with no fewer than three actors playing the lead in its short run: 'Mr. James Bennett, the first Richard, was succeeded by Mr. Niel [*sic*] Warner, and he in turn by Count Joannes, making three Richards in the field to the usual seven Richmonds'. The same reviewer believed that the

replacement of Cibber's text was the root of the problem: 'Mr. Calvert's version appears to have been the trouble, and did not suit the actors or the public'.[29] The choice of Count Joannes to play the lead did not rescue the production and provoked the sarcastic remarks that 'There may be differences of opinion as to who is the best Richard – but every one knows that Count of John is easily the worst. It is worth going to Niblo's to see how silly Shakespeare's verses can be made to sound'.[30] The press found more sardonic humour with which to embellish their reviews: 'This fiendish vengeance of Mr. Palmer against the public which has so assiduously stayed away from this performance is at variance with his character for amiability and humanity', while there was some consolation to be had with the thought that 'There is a quite brilliant prospect that somebody will be killed in the last act', a prospect that 'will take hundreds to Niblo's'.[31]

Out of the ashes of this production, it rose, phoenix-like, a few days later at John T. Ford's Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore:

The next production, on Monday, May 8th,
A Grand Shakspearean Revival of
SHAKSPEARE'S RICHARD III
With Rich and Costly Appointments, Splendid
Costumes and Appropriate Scenery
Richard the Third……..Mr. Neil Warner,
In which he gained a great success at
NIBLO'S GARDEN, NEW YORK[32]

The 'rich and costly appointments' suggest that some of the items purchased from Calvert made their way to this theatre while Jarrett and Palmer showed an entrepreneurial flair which bordered on downright dishonesty in their description of the New York production as 'a great success'.[33] The review of the opening night in Baltimore is an unreliable one as it formed part of an advertisement for the following night's performance but it is repeated it here in the

absence of a more objective account: ‘Last evening this superb Shakespearean pageant was received with the most vehement applause, and pronounced by far the most brilliant presentation of Richard III ever witnessed in Baltimore’.[34] Another advertisement provides more evidence of the use of Calvert’s scenery by describing the play as being ‘Perfectly mounted, with its new and fine Historical Scenes, Rich costumes and imposing Military Displays’.[35] Nor was this the last of Neil Warner as Richard.

Perhaps wishing to wring out every cent from the play, two days later the Holliday Street Theatre held ‘A Grand Historical Shakesperian Military Pageant’ starring the ‘distinguished English tragedian’, Neil Warner, as ‘Richard the Third on horseback’. Perhaps there had been a lack of ladies and children in the audience during the main run of the play so cheap seats for them were available at twenty-five cents.[36] This theatre had opened in 1782 with *Richard III* and, over the next hundred years, Shakespeare’s plays became an established part of the regular programme so Warner’s Richard may have found a more receptive audience at that venue.[37] With this, Calvert’s packaged total production of *Richard III* disappeared forever.

Even if Jarrett and Palmer’s production had failed, it aroused the New York theatregoers’ curiosity for the play, a curiosity encouraged by the press. On 8 May 1871, Joannes appeared as Richard at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and, in the opinion of one reporter: ‘Whatever he may do or what eccentricity he may manifest in the part can only be learned by attending the performances’[38] while another announced Joannes’s intention to ‘repeat his experimental effort as *Richard the Third*’.[39]

The cost of producing *Richard III* at Niblo's Garden was five times the $5,000 cost of staging *The Black Crook* 'and it never made expenses'. In December 1871, Jarrett and Palmer were forced to resurrect *The Black Crook* to 'recuperate from the loss they have suffered in adopting that vague abstraction, the legitimate drama'.[40] However, they persevered with 'legitimate drama', producing *As You Like It* on 2 May 1871, just three days after *Richard III* had finished its run. In complete contrast, Calvert's sale of the play to Jarrett and Palmer for £1,200 increased the surplus earned by Manchester's Prince's Theatre in 1871 from a meagre £360 to a healthy £1,560 for the year.[41] This transatlantic experiment had been a financial success for Calvert and the Prince's Theatre while the criticism of Calvert's acting edition did not harm his reputation in Britain. Therefore, Calvert and his associates would have been encouraged to accept approaches from other theatres to purchase a packaged revival. The next request would come from a theatre much closer to home.

## *HENRY V* IN BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham's Prince of Wales Theatre, managed by James Roberts, was the next enterprise to procure a packaged production from Calvert - *Henry V* in 1873. Some slight Shakespearean connections between the two cities had already been made. James Bennett, a Birmingham-born actor, had appeared, albeit unsuccessfully, in Jarrett and Palmer's *Richard III*, while Calvert was a donor to the Shakespeare Memorial Library.[42] Crucially, the Prince of Wales Theatre did not change Calvert's successful methods and instead adopted a risk-averse approach. An advertisement dated 19 September 1873, listing all the scenes, scenery painters and suppliers of the costumes and accessories, confirmed that this was the same production that had been so successful in Manchester.[43] Crucially, this time Calvert oversaw the production in person. The play was to open on 22 September 1873 'under the direction of Charles Calvert' and was to be 'as produced by him at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester'.[44]

The Birmingham press was generous enough to place Manchester's achievement in the national context, commenting enthusiastically that 'Not even in London, with the management of Macready at Covent Garden, nor at the Princess's, with the revivals of the late Charles Kean, has any great drama been presented on so magnificent a scale'. *Henry V*, on whose production the theatre had expended £4,000 would, in this reviewer's opinion, 'prove to be the greatest triumph of stage art ever yet achieved in our town'.[45]

Calvert was to have played the lead, but he was struck down by a sudden illness on the opening night, his already fragile health being unable to sustain the demands placed upon it. His condition the following day was described as 'going on favourably' although he had suffered a relapse that afternoon and had been 'exceedingly ill'. The entire audience was

offered checks entitling them to attend another performance free of charge but it was testament to the esteem and affection of the Birmingham theatregoers towards Calvert that 'scarcely any of occupants of the dress circle and boxes however would accept the checks, and by far the greater number of the pitties refused them'.[46] A report circulated on 9 October 1873 announced that he had died but Calvert in fact recovered sufficiently to return to London on 8 October 1873 while his wife continued to act in *Henry V*.[47]

Reviews of the revival were positive: 'We feel warranted in advising everyone who takes an interest in the drama to see this admirable revival, which has been produced in a style never before witnessed in Birmingham'.[48] Another reviewer noted the play's sense of propriety and educational value: 'If school teachers were wise, they would take their pupils to see a drama which has no scene, no word, or gesture, which could offend the most fastidious ; and thus give their pupils a lesson in English history such as has never been attainable before'.[49] The acting of Reginald Moore as Henry drew great praise, being described as 'manly, dignified, kingly, full or real power, expressed with consummate taste, never noisy, never strained, but courtly and refined to the highest degree'. A matinée was arranged for Thursday 9 October 1873 'for the service of country residents who are not accommodated by late trains'.[50] One reviewer even described the revival as being 'the greatest event in the dramatic annals of our town'.[51] The financial performance of this revival provides a more objective assessment of its popularity. On 17 October 1873, the evening of the penultimate performance, Calvert announced on stage that takings for the run so far amounted to £3,000 which demonstrated once and for all that the name Shakespeare no longer spelt 'bankruptcy and ruin'. After Calvert's speech, the manager, James Roberts, announced that he had 'at much sacrifice, done what he could do to elevate the drama in Birmingham, and he hoped he would continue

to do so'.[52] Calvert's *Henry V* had proved itself ideal for production elsewhere because of its educational potential, its deference to propriety, its historical accuracy and its rich and colourful scenic components. A little over a year later, thanks to these attributes, it was to travel much further afield.

## *HENRY V* IN NEW YORK

In this section I explain why Jarrett and Palmer decided to purchase Calvert's *Henry V* as a package, how they avoided a repeat of the failures of their production of Calvert's *Richard III*, how the play became an international asset and how Rignold, chosen by Calvert to play Henry, became the world's first international Shakespearean celebrity.

Since opening his own theatre to produce Shakespearean plays in 1871, Booth had encountered great difficulty in making his enterprise profitable. His final revival, *Richard III*, commenced on 22 April 1872 but ran for only two and a half weeks. During the autumn of 1872, in the hope of generating additional revenue, he embarked on a tour of the eastern seaboard performing *Hamlet* and *Richelieu* but this plan failed in its aim. At the start of 1873, Booth owed $145,000 in loans with a mortgage on the theatre of $350,000 so on 30 January 1873 he leased the theatre to his brother, Junius Brutus Booth, with the intention that he would pay him rent. But Junius found he could not even cover his operating expenses let alone provide Edwin with a rental income. Following a general financial panic which further depressed attendances, on 2 February 1874, Edwin filed for bankruptcy followed by Junius on 7 April 1874, who handed over the lesseeship to Jarrett and Palmer.[53]

However, the new lessees could not make the theatre pay either. Jarrett and Palmer had endured a disastrous season, 'a succession of failures, and *Henry the Fifth* was the last plank to which they were clinging to save themselves from shipwreck'. Towards the end of 1874, Jarrett and Palmer made the directors of the Prince's Theatre a 'liberal offer' for Calvert's *Henry V*. To prevent a recurrence of the failure of *Richard III*, Jarrett and Palmer insisted that Calvert travel to New York to superintend all aspects of the performance. So keen were they

to secure his services, that they agreed to his wife's request to employ her as Chorus with a salary of $100 per week, to provide first class cabins on board ship with all other expenses paid and to make sure that she 'had an opportunity of seeing her relatives once more'.[54]

Calvert was able to transport theatrical properties and people across the Atlantic profitably and reliably thanks to developments in the shipping industry. Recalling her first trip to the United States in 1854, Calvert's wife related that there was only one steamship per week between Liverpool and New York and that the lowest first-class fare was eighteen guineas. As a result, actors were fearful of venturing across the Atlantic, 'foreseeing the possibility of being left without salary and unable to reach home again'.[55] She and her sister Clara had accepted a ten-month engagement at Thomas Barry's Boston Theatre and their entire family moved there with them. £60 covered the cost of transporting her parents, seven siblings and a servant on the *Sumter*, a five-hundred-ton barque, from London to Boston. While the fare was affordable, the family was forced to endure a six-week journey in great discomfort. The live fowl which had been placed board had to be rationed while milk ran out because 'A cow was on board, but after a few days buffeting, she, too, became an invalid like the rest of us'. The family arrived some days after they should have appeared on the Boston stage because 'We were frequently becalmed [so] when we should have been landing in Boston, we were still some hundreds of miles away from it'.[56]

The advent of steamships not only shortened the journey times between Liverpool and New York from an average of thirty-eight days in 1827 to fifteen days in 1875 but also made these journeys more dependable as they were no longer reliant on the prevailing winds.[57] The greater speed and capacity of steamships also brought about a reduction in the cost of

shipping bulk commodities. For example, rates to the United Kingdom on cotton from New Orleans fell from $0.04 a pound in 1818 to $0.0074 a pound in 1850, Canadian timber from Quebec from £5 a load in 1814 to £1. 15s. in 1852.[58] Also, transatlantic shipping was characterised by one-way bulk shipping to the United Kingdom and so the return journey usually had to be made 'in ballast' as very few goods manufactured in the United Kingdom were on offer. Consequently, shipping agents were keen to attract any cargoes for the return journey so backloads could be brought to the United States at low rates of freight.[59] Properties from the Prince's Theatre could be collected by the railway company, loaded onto railway wagons at Manchester Central station a few hundred yards away and transported directly to the quayside at Liverpool. Passengers could travel from the same station using the frequent train service and be in the centre of Liverpool in little over an hour.

Calvert's wife sailed for Boston from Liverpool on board the Cunard steamship *Siberia* on 19 January 1875[60] and arrived at her destination on 4 February 1875[61] while Charles sailed for New York on board the Cunard steamship *Java* departing on 13 January 1875 and arriving on 30 January 1875.[62]

Jarrett and Palmer spared no expense on the production. They invested $40,000, employed forty-four actors and actors, fifty-five ballet dancers, 412 other supernumeraries and 'all the dresses and scenery provided by him [Calvert] …were brought over to Booth's Theater'.[63] Calvert himself did not act in the play, the lead being taken by Rignold who had been chosen by Calvert himself. Perhaps mindful of their association with a failed Shakespearean revival, the advertisement for the opening night of *Henry V* stressed the meticulous preparations, the novelty of this play and Calvert's academic and theatrical credentials: 'after a protracted

course of careful preparation and finally devoting the whole of last week, each day, morning and night to its rehearsals, under the personal direction of Mr. CHARLES CALVERT, the eminent English scholar and actor…HENRY V is now in readiness for public representations, and will be given for the first time in New York for fifty years'.[64]

This most English of plays presenting the most English of kings may not at first sight have appeared to be a likely success in America but during the nineteenth century tens of thousands of Europeans had emigrated there and so the management, aware of their target audience, made efforts to directly address the immigrant population. The German-speaking population of New York numbered almost a quarter of a million and below the main advertisement was placed a smaller one in German giving details of the box office opening times and proudly announcing that 'Fünfhundert personen sind im Schauspiel beschäftigt' ('Five hundred people are employed in the play').[65]

The Roman Catholic population in the United States had grown from 70,000 in 1807 to two million in 1850 by emigration from Ireland, Germany and France. Their apparent poverty and the dramatic rise in crime rates and alcoholism that supposedly occurred after their arrival aroused suspicion and hostility towards them. *Henry V* with its pro-English, anti-French themes, if produced in a way which emphasised nationalist themes, could have inflamed these tensions even further. In this environment, Calvert's *Henry V* proved to be the ideal production since his version was 'no indulgent, thoughtless escape into jingoism, but a judicious blend of rejoicing and sorrow'.[66] Although employing spectacular settings and tableaux, Calvert's acting edition incorporated the ambivalence of the play's presentation of war by reinstating the often deleted incidents that challenged the heroic portrayal of Henry:

the killing of the prisoners, the threats to Harfleur and the hanging of Bardolph. The French in this production were victims before they were enemies, Katherine's French lesson was restored, albeit without the final obscenities, and the triumphalism of Henry's entry into London was tempered by introducing wounded soldiers and a sorrowful group of women anxiously waiting for their returning menfolk.

Calvert's *Henry V* opened on 6 February 1875 and quickly prompted interest in the press all over the country. This assessment suggests that *Henry V* was *primus inter pares*: 'Among the amusements of the season those offered on the dramatic stage are not by any means indifferent, and decidedly the best of these is the brilliant Shakespearean revival at Booth's'.[67] In other respects, the production was ground-breaking: 'As a stately dramatic spectacle Henry V. is certainly far ahead of anything yet presented on metropolitan boards' while the five hundred people involved in its production was 'the largest number ever engaged in one play in New York'. As usual the scenery and costumes were highly praised: 'The scenery…is of the most magnificent description, and the costumes are both costly and correct'.[68] No expense was spared in the manufacture of Rignold's magnificent suit of armour which 'was made in England…entirely of heavy steel, [and] cost five hundred dollars'.[69] One review restated the financial risk in staging a Shakespeare play, a view no longer held in Manchester but in New York one recently reinforced by the bankruptcy of Booth: 'But will the revival pay? As a rule, Shakespearean revivals do no [*sic*] pay, at least so say persons who ought to know'.[70]

The play was scheduled to run for six weeks and, after the third performance, Calvert returned to England as planned on 13 February 1875 on the steamer *Baltic* with his wife

expecting to make the same journey some weeks later.[71] However, with the end of the sixth week approaching and with no diminution in audience numbers, Jarrett and Palmer approached Adelaide Neilson, who was scheduled to appear at the theatre the following week to negotiate a postponement. She agreed to this then also to a second postponement but, when the success of the play continued, she refused to countenance a third extension and threatened legal action if her engagement did not proceed. In the event, the final performance of *Henry V* occurred on 31 May 1875. By 29 March 1875, 130,000 people had seen the play.[72]

## RIGNOLD – THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SHAKESPEAREAN CELEBRITY

In this section I explain how Rignold's tour of America in *Henry V* transformed him into the world's first international Shakespearean celebrity. Rignold was by no means the first British Shakespearean actor to earn fame on the international stage. In March 1859 Phelps took his company of twenty-five, complete with their scenery and costumes, to Germany where they performed six plays in Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg.[73] Kean had appeared in the United States, Germany and, between July 1863 and April 1866, he and his wife travelled around the world appearing in Australia, Jamaica, Panama and the United States. However, none of these actors caught the public imagination in the same way as Rignold whose physical presence made him the natural successor to the American actor, Edwin Forrest (illustration 3.10). Whether Calvert's choice of Rignold was inspired by a resemblance to Forrest's physique is not recorded but this description of Forrest resembles that quoted later in this chapter of Rignold in his armour: '[Forrest] stepped upon the stage in his naked fighting-trim, his muscular coating unified all over him and quivering with vital power, his skin polished to a smooth and marble hardness, conscious of his enormous potency, fearless of anything on the earth'.[74]

Jarrett and Palmer had organised a tour of America featuring Rignold as the lead in *Henry V* with Baltimore being the first stop after the run in New York had ended. It is evident from reports and advertisements in the press that some of the scenery imported from Manchester accompanied Rignold to various venues. For example, the announcement of the Baltimore engagement stated that 'all the scenery by the leading scenic painters of England, with all the costumes expressly produced in London to give historical accuracy'.[75] As his tour progressed,

Rignold himself became the centre of attention. In fact, while still performing at New York, he had already become the object of female infatuation:

> Rignold…is the idol of the metropolis. One of them sent him, for sixteen nights in succession, a boquet [*sic*] consisting of a red rose and two white ones, which she besought him to wear in the courtship scene with the Princes [*sic*] Catherine. Another case is that of a lady and her daughter who…have waylaid him upon the street, invited him to dine at their hotel…expressing their intense admiration of his genius'.[76]

A Chicago paper declared that '…Rignold is in love with America…just as a large section of Young America is in love with him'.[77] The reasons for this idolatry were neatly summed up in a regional paper which explained that 'Mr. Rignold is one of the handsomest men that has graced the boards of an American theatre for years, and this, coupled with a fine and carefully cultured voice, and a certain manliness of character… renders him a great favorite whenever he appears'.[78] Another review provided a more intimate reason: 'Even his kiss to his betrothed princess is so far superior to ordinary stage kissing as to elicit enthusiastic praise from the ladies'.[79] For audience members not swayed by these attributes then this critic attributed his success to other qualities: 'Mr. Rignold is a man of large, if unsymmetrical frame, but cased in plate armor, or draped in royal robes, the size lends dignity…It would be difficult to imagine a finer ideal of knightly presence than is realized by the armed figure of Mr. Rignold.[80] By the time the play reached the Grand Opera House in Cincinnati on 3 February 1876, his reputation was secure: 'The advent of Mr. George Rignold was heralded by such flattering and elaborate accounts of his personal appearance and acting that the theatergoing public was on the *qui vive* of expectation'. Nor was the audience there

disappointed, Rignold being described as 'physically the perfect "Harry of England"…tall, dignified, and commanding of figure, with a deep, melodious voice'.[81] When he appeared in *Henry V* in New York on 10 April 1876, Rignold had played Henry 267 times missing only two performances.

In contrast to Rignold, reviews of Booth and his productions from 1876 are less favourable. His production of *Richard the Second* in Whitney's Opera House, Detroit on 19 May 1876 was compared to Rignold's Henry which, by this time, was regarded as the benchmark: '…some attractive pictures are presented but they are not sufficiently numerous or striking to give the play the kind of distinction which "Henry V." has gained under the manipulations of the muscular Rignold'. In this production, Bollingbroke was played by Warne who was described as 'much resembling Rignold in "Henry V.", both in figure and make up, but he is not a good reader. For that reason, most of his Shakesperian characters are unfortunate'.[82]

Rignold's attributes made him the natural successor to that most physically dominant and self-confident of American Shakespearean actors, Forrest, who had died in 1872. Some audiences had preferred the intellectual approach of the far more insecure Englishman Macready to the supremely self-assured Anglophobe Forrest. This division, exacerbated by the intense and very public dislike between the two men, led to a crowd of 15,000 people, who shared, for a variety of reasons, anti-British sentiments, gathering outside the Astor Square Opera House in New York on 10 May 1849 where Macready was appearing as Macbeth while Forrest was cast in *The Gladiator* at the Broadway Theatre. The crowd pelted the Opera House with paving slabs and tried to break in and, attempting to restore order, the troops, who had been assigned to defend the building, opened fire and killed twenty-five

people. In complete contrast to this destructive rivalry, Rignold represented a unifying figure, on stage combining Macready's thoughtful Englishness with Forrest's self-confident, impressive presence, while off stage avoiding inflammatory nationalist sentiments and corrosive disputes with his fellow actors.

Although Calvert's decision to select Rignold to play Henry had been vindicated, it is impossible to believe that he could have foreseen the fame which Rignold achieved across the United States nor could he have predicted that Rignold would have used his *Henry V* as a springboard to an international career as both Shakespearean actor and manager. I describe in the next chapter how his international career was built upon his reputation as Henry, but it was opportunistic, being triggered by a dispute with Jarrett and Palmer.

## RIGNOLD BREAKS AWAY

*Henry V* reopened at Booth's Theatre in New York on 10 April 1876 for a five-week run with Rignold as Henry. Jarrett and Palmer had intended to transfer the production from New York to the California Theatre in San Francisco, managed by Lawrence Barrett and John McCullough, the first performance scheduled for 5 June 1876 with Rignold in the lead. However, Rignold fell into a dispute with Jarrett and Palmer, the cause of which, according to one account, was his refusal to sign a contract for the San Francisco production 'at the old stipend of $500'.[83] As Barrett was receiving $1,000 per week in New York, Rignold no doubt felt his pivotal role in the continued success of the play deserved comparable remuneration.[84] It is easy to imagine Rignold, emboldened by the adoration of audiences across the United States and Canada, demanding a greater share of the profits while Jarrett and Palmer, similarly emboldened by the success of their management, refusing him. Rignold was still part of the company on 4 May 1876 when he played Romeo in his own benefit matinee and was still present on 19 May 1876 when he appeared as William in *Black Eyed Susan*. However, his departure must have happened almost immediately afterwards as he was absent from the cast of the *Julius Caesar* which ran for one week from 21 May 1876.[85] Whatever the reasons, Barrett replaced Rignold for the San Francisco production.

As a further example of the accidental nature of his international career, Rignold's involvement in San Francisco after his break from Jarrett and Palmer was not at his own instigation. The manager of Wade's Opera House in San Francisco, Frederick William Bert, heard that Rignold was available and hired him to star in a rival version of *Henry V*. With equal verve, Bert enticed William Voegtlin, who was Jarrett and Palmer's scenery painter, to

create scenery for his production just as he had done at Booth's Theatre in New York for 'one year at $100 per week'.[86]

My assertion that Jarrett and Palmer were now confident enough to reject Rignold's demands gains credence when we examine the spectacular railway journey which they had arranged both to publicise their San Francisco production and to celebrate the American Centennial. Jules Ladenheim implies that Jarrett and Palmer's decision to charter a train to conduct the fastest crossing of the United States was taken in great haste being driven by their desire to open in San Francisco before Rignold.[87] A newspaper report from 26 May 1876, just six days before the train left for San Francisco, perpetuates this view: 'The time for Rignold's opening was set two weeks earlier than that of Barrett. But now Barrett's opening is announced to take place two weeks sooner than Rignold's'.[88] However, another account in the *London Evening Standard* demonstrates that this train journey had been planned as far back as January 1876: 'arrangements are making to transport the Henry V. cast, properties and scenery from New York to San Francisco on a lightning express special train in eighty hours from ocean to ocean…The feat is set down for next June, and the parties are Jarrett and Palmer, of Booth's, in New York, and John M'Culloch, of San Francisco'.[89] In other words, there is no evidence that this adventure had been hastily arranged to steal the thunder from Bert's production or to transport the company at breakneck speed to forestall Rignold. Instead, it had been arranged some months before as a publicity stunt, a reflection of the managers' own boldness and self-confidence.

The announcement in January 1876 that 'cast, properties and scenery' would be transported to San Francisco by this chartered express train requires some further explanation. First, the

rolling stock consisted of a baggage car, Commissary Car 202 and the Palace Hotel Car *Marlborough*. These carriages could accommodate only forty passengers and a mere eighteen completed the journey.[90] Second, the capacity of the baggage car was greatly reduced as it contained equipment and material specially installed for this trip – a two thousand gallon wooden water tank, three thousand pounds of coal which could be shovelled through the end door onto the locomotive's tender, a printing press so bulletins could be distributed at stops along the route and 15,000 copies of the *New York Herald* which had been printed on 31 May but post-dated to 1 June.[91] Although Ladenheim relates that '"Baggage smashers" handed up the passengers' trunks, which contained their wardrobes for San Francisco' and 'scenery and costumes were carefully stowed', there would in practice have been very little room for these items.[92] The run of *Henry V* had ended in mid-May 1876 and the fastest journey time by scheduled rail services from New York to San Francisco was seven days.[93] It is possible that the scenery, costumes and the cast could have made the journey by scheduled train services in the fortnight before the special train departed at 12.40 am on 1 June 1876.

Rignold opened at Wade's Opera House on 5 June 1876 before Barrett at the California Theatre on 7 June 1876, but the interest generated by the Jarrett and Palmer Express ensured Barrett's production was by far the best publicised. However, such was Rignold's dominance of the character of Henry that Barrett's representation suffered by comparison. Rignold had 'a decided advantage over Mr. Barrett in respect of his physical fitness for the part' while his pulling power was most irresistible to a certain section of the public since the theatre was 'thronged with ladies at the matinees, and standing-room is often at a premium on these occasions…'. As for Barrett, he had the advantage of retaining Thorne as Fluellen and Bishop as Pistol so they attracted the largest night time audiences.[94]

The scenery at the California Theatre had originally been used in Manchester while Voegtlin had created new scenery for Wade's Opera House. It seems likely that Voegtlin created a memorial reconstruction of the scenery imported from Manchester with which he himself would have been familiar while in Jarrett and Palmer's employ in New York. One review confirms this: 'The scenery is almost exactly alike at either place, and is very grand'.[95] It also seems safe to assume that Rignold would have employed Calvert's acting edition as there would not have been sufficient time to develop his own. So there arose the bizarre situation of Calvert's acting edition and scenery – the original scenery in one theatre and a cloned version in the other – being put to work simultaneously in two theatres in a city 5,000 miles from Manchester. Unfortunately, the city could not sustain both Barrett and Rignold in the same character at rival theatres so neither production enjoyed a long run. Despite their investment in a spectacular train journey, Jarrett and Palmer's production ended on 26 June 1876, while Bert's opportunistic production lasted three weeks with Rignold's representation of Henry established in the ascendancy.

## RIGNOLD IN AUSTRALASIA

Despite the cultural landscapes of Australia and New Zealand differing from those in the United States, Rignold's *Henry V* met with equal success in those countries. In this section, I explain the reasons for this success by exploring the contemporary social and economic trends in Australia and New Zealand.

Assessing how patriotic and loyal to Britain a colony would have been in 1876 is challenging given the intangible nature of what is being measured and the lack of research in this area. However, John Rowan Griffiths observed that 'During the 1870s…the idea that a more tightly integrated British world could be constructed was voiced'.[96] Technological innovations such as undersea cable systems and improved trans-oceanic shipping from the 1870s onwards helped foster a sense of nearness to the colonies: 'British news was syndicated by business organisations such as Reuters throughout the English-speaking world and, as never before, the fortunes of the Empire were disseminated at increasing speed to the breakfast tables of English-speaking peoples'.[97] Additionally, trade links were strong with Britain importing seventy-five percent of New Zealand's exports and fifty percent of Australia's in the 1880s.[98] At the turn of the nineteenth century, the journalist Richard Jebb observed that 'Colonial loyalty rooted in the past is slowly giving way before national patriotism reaching to the future' but, at the time of Rignold's arrival in Australia, significant sections of the population remained loyal to Britain.[99] Griffiths provides several examples from the travel writer James Froude's 1886 work *Oceana* to illustrate this. So similar were social manners in the Australian state of Victoria, where half the population had been born in the colony, to those in England that Froude suggested 'they are ourselves' and 'of native, aggressive radicalism there is very little'.[100] Visiting Sydney, Froude detected a strong

sentiment of loyalty and concluded that 'if ever England herself were threatened…they would risk their life. It was a practical demonstration in favour of Imperial Unity'.[101] In New Zealand, a strongly loyalist nationalism emerged 'largely due to the absence of significant anti-British elements' while the country's greater vulnerability to Asian aggression explains in part its enduring loyalty to Britain.[102] An advertisement for Rignold's *Henry V* as late as 1897 for Christchurch's Theatre Royal even included the statement that his production 'makes a man proud of belonging to the English race'.[103]

However, the audiences in Australia were, according to William James Holloway, founder of Australia's Holloway Theatre Company, 'notoriously difficult to play to'. In 1885, when Dion Boucicault jnr. first brought his company to Australia, he was warned that 'You must not regard our audiences as if they were a West End public; they range from Peckham Rye to Whitechapel. They want strong effects, not fine acting; they want sensation not style'. The distribution of seats at Melbourne's Theatre Royal demonstrates that it catered predominantly for a popular audience: the theatre contained 180 seats in the dress circle priced at 5s., 568 in the orchestra stalls at 3s., 300 in the upper boxes at 2s. and 1,300 in the pit and gallery at 1s.[104]

An advertisement for Rignold's Australian engagement confirmed that it had been organised by Bert in San Francisco and not by Jarrett and Palmer in New York. The same advertisement also verified that the 'superb scenery, historically correct, with dresses, armour, and properties' had been transported from San Francisco 'at a cost of £7500' to achieve 'the most perfect realization of English chivalry in the 15th century ever witnessed'.[105] This scenery was Voegtlin's copy of that originally created for Calvert's revival in Manchester. As for

Rignold himself, his reputation had preceded him; one could visit J. R. Clarke's Fine Art Store and purchase George Rignold as Henry by Bradley and Rulofson on a postcard.[106]

Rignold made his début in Australia as Henry at Sydney's Theatre Royal on 28 August 1876 and played there until 23 September 1876 before spending most of 1877 touring the United States and Britain. Then, as Foulkes observes, 'Like the Keans, and most visiting actors to Australia, Rignold went to New Zealand'.[107] An advertisement for *Henry V* to be performed at Wellington's Imperial Opera House in New Zealand on 26 December 1878 announced that 'Entirely new scenery, historically correct, painted by Voegtlin, of New York, and John Hennings of Melbourne' would be employed while the dresses were 'from drawings of the time' by Sam May, the proprietor of a theatrical repository at 316 The Strand in London'.[108] This combination of Rignold's charisma and Calvert's methods continued to achieve great financial and popular success. A review in *Wellington's Evening Mail* reflected the audience reaction to the performance: 'Rignold! Rignold! Rignold! Greeted with cheer after cheer and thunders of applause' while the same advertisement felt able to claim that it was 'The grandest spectacle ever presented in the Southern Hemisphere'.[109] His popularity in Wellington was translated into a record-breaking financial success: 'The largest amount of money ever taken in any New Zealand theatre, on one occasion, is said to have been taken last night by Mr. George Darrell, on the production of "Henry V.," with Rignold and a large company from Australia. The proceeds were £230'.[110]

In that same year, he joined theatre manager James Allison in a project to construct Her Majesty's Theatre in Sydney, eventually opening on 10 September 1887 with Rignold's version of *Henry V*.[111] Throughout these performances, the scenery imported from Wade's

Opera House in San Francisco continued to be employed but was increasingly diluted by local emendations. A playbill for the performance at Sydney's Opera House on 24 December 1885 declared that Rignold's *Henry V* 'as played by him throughout the civilised globe with unprecedented success' now had 'new and magnificent scenery by Habbe and Little'. Rignold also followed Calvert in having massed ranks of actors on stage, the playbill announcing the use of '200 auxiliaries'.[112]

Although the management, venues and acting companies changed, the continued success of *Henry V* ultimately derived from Calvert's methods, from his choice of Rignold as leading actor and from the versatility of his acting edition. Rignold's personal influence is self-evident, but the influence of Calvert's acting edition persisted although becoming less obvious over time. Rignold first published his acting edition of *Henry V* in 1876 and four further versions followed in 1878, 1879, 1880 and 1887. His debt to Calvert is obvious in his 1879 edition as it retained from Calvert's 1872 edition Darbyshire's *Notes on heraldry displayed in Henry V*[113] although Rignold could not resist the temptation for self-publicity and inserted a chapter entitled *Opinions of the English speaking press on George Rignold as Henry V*.[114] Also, a preview stated that the play 'will be revived, with certain alterations for stage effect by Mr. GEORGE RIGNOLD, from the popular version, as produced by the late Mr. Charles Calvert'[115] and he followed Calvert's convention whereby Rumour adopted sword and shield for Harfleur and garlands of white roses for the concluding royal wedding.[116] Like Calvert, he created a tableau to represent the battle of Agincourt and used the Chorus's articulation of Henry's return to London at the start of the fifth act to justify the creation of a 'Historical Episode'.[117] Rignold mostly retained Calvert's rearrangement of the text and his reordering of the scenes.

Despite his debt to Calvert, Rignold's representation of Henry supplanted Calvert's less heroic portrayal. Davis states that, 'Despite Calvert's careful interpretation of the play, the late nineteenth century saw the solidifying of Henry's reputation as the quintessential English soldier-king and the increasing use of the play as the cultural auxiliary of English imperialism'. By the turn of the century, Rignold's version resonated more closely with Britain's military situation with other actors and managers presenting a heroic soldier-king. For example, Benson and Lewis Waller at the Lyceum and Richard Mansfield in New York were responsible for 'three heroic productions, influenced by the martial mood of the Boer War, which decked the stages on both sides of the Atlantic during the 1900-01 theatrical season'.[118]

Nevertheless, the educational aspect of the acting edition still held some sway as, according to the *Dunedin Evening Star*, 'The play is one of those which, apart from its dramatic and spectacular aspect, is a liberal and historical education, not only for the young but also for the elder'.[119] Rignold also changed the perception that Shakespeare could not be commercially viable by replicating in Australasia what Calvert had achieved in Manchester, namely removing the belief that Shakespeare spelled ruin. He also successfully changed the public perception of the plays which was a prerequisite for financial as well as artistic success. In Melbourne 'audiences that had preferred melodrama were now prepared to accept *Much Ado About Nothing*' while in 1887 Holloway created an Australian record 'by succeeding in playing *Twelfth Night* for fifteen weeks in Sydney, longer than any play had run continuously in one place before'.[120] The final performance of Rignold's *Henry V* occurred on 9 June 1897 at the Princess's Theatre in Dunedin by which time Calvert's *Henry V* had formed the basis of thousands of performances around the world.[121]

## *JULIUS CAESAR* – MADE IN AMERICA

In this section I explain how the nationwide success of *Henry V* changed Jarrett and Palmer's approach to theatre management and inspired them to produce their own version of *Julius Caesar* in 1876, closely following Calvert's methods but eschewing his acting edition, scenery and costumes.

As a work of literature, *Julius Caesar* had been admired by eighteenth-century American intellectuals and between 1871 and 1891 the play enjoyed a degree of popularity unmatched in its history with thousands of performances staged.[122] For example, Jarrett and Palmer had previously revived the play on 5 September 1870 at Niblo's Garden, the production being dressed appropriately but not lavishly and, according to John Ripley, 'The managers found to their delight that the public thronged the theatre in near record numbers'.[123] After Booth's bankruptcy, Jarrett and Palmer, now lessees of his theatre, embarked on a spectacular revival adopting many of the methods which had made Calvert's revivals so successful. However, wishing to avoid using an acting edition which would not suit New York audiences as had occurred with their use of Calvert's *Richard III*, Jarrett and Palmer employed the edition which Booth had created for his successful 1871 production. This had enjoyed a run of eighty-five-nights, as confirmed by Booth's comments in a letter to the American Republican politician Henry Winter Davis dated 28 July 1876: 'The "Julius Caesar" of *Booth's Theater* is my arrangement – so is the "Winter's Tale", which I'm told they will produce next season'.[124] Booth continued resentfully that 'The play of "Julius Caesar" (arranged by myself) at Booth's is the same that Barrett, Bangs &c now claim as their own adaptation'.[125] The six-act textual arrangement was Booth's but while most of his cuts were preserved, most of his restorations were not. The alterations seem to have been made to accommodate Edward

Loomis Davenport's lifelong familiarity with the Kemble version. Thus, the Caius Ligarius scene was removed from Booth's version as were the lines to Lucius after the exit of the conspirators while Brutus killed himself uttering Kemble's death-speech:[126]

> This was the justest cause that ever men
> Did draw their swords for; and the gods renounce it. —
> Disdaining life, to live a slave in Rome,
> Thus Brutus strikes his last — for liberty!
> Farewell,
> Beloved country! — Caesar, now be still;
> I kill'd not thee with half so good a will.[127]

As for the scenery, 'scrutiny of the Booth's Theatre stock established that the settings from the 1871 revival were still usable, and the scenic artist, Voegtlin, was set to refurbish them'.[128] He did more than that and added arches, new backdrops and altered perspective views freely. The management wanted to replicate Calvert's spectacular tableaux so he added at the end of the sixth act a lurid tableau featuring the burning of the body of Brutus on the plain of Philippi.[129] In this tableau, 'the whole force employed will take part, and it is said that it will be the most magnificent living picture of the kind ever presented on any stage'.[130] The procession in the first act, rather like the tableau in Calvert's *2 Henry IV,* which was promoted as an attraction in its own right, was predicted to 'excel anything of the kind ever put on the stage'.[131]

Calvert had tolerated some unevenness in the standard of the acting in his revivals but he never allowed this to affect the overall impact or financial success of the productions nor had he allowed one actor to dominate a production. Jarrett and Palmer adopted the same approach. In fact, as a preview in the press pointed out 'This tragedy is one which has been but seldom produced…because of the fact that in order to give an intelligent representation of the main characters, no less than four star actors are required'.[132] The *New York Times* wrote

that ‘The three parts of *Brutus*, *Cassius* and *Marc Antony* are so finely balanced in respect to prominence that no actor could well decline any one of them on grounds of inferiority’.[133] Of Bangs’s Marc Antony, the same reviewer wrote that ‘…it would be difficult to find an actor so well suited to the rôle’.[134] Of Davenport’s Brutus, the reviewer described it as a ‘delightful personation’ but ‘it cannot be overlooked that time has wrought some ravages with his once noble voice’.[135] As in Calvert’s productions, this slight unevenness along with the tendency of Barrett, who played Cassius, to ‘drop his voice…toward the close of a sentence’ did not have a negative impact on the production’s reception.[136]

As for historical accuracy, a preview enthused that ‘Messrs. Jarrett and Palmer have spared neither pains nor expense to make the scenes of the play as nearly accurate as possible. Copies of the armor worn by the Roman soldiers have been manufactured...The specimen trophies brought to Rome by Caesar are also accurate copies’. Calvert’s productions had often been regarded as having educational value and this production continued that tradition: ‘The production of this tragedy will furnish students and others a rare opportunity of studying not only Shakespeare, but actual scenes in Roman life’.[137] Authenticity was achieved by using ‘historical relics preserved in the Archaeological Department of the British Museum’ as the references for the costumes, armor, weapons, standards and accessories.[138]

Calvert’s *Henry V* in New York was notable for his insistence on thorough rehearsal and Jarrett and Palmer followed this precedent: ‘Mr. Henry D. Palmer superintended the drilling and grouping of the army of 500 supernumeraries, who were being marched and counter-marched around and across the stage, under the direction of Mr. John L. Vincent, the stage manager’.[139] So much confidence did the managers have in their production that they invited

eighteen members of the Senate and fifty-one members of the Assembly of New Jersey accompanied by thirty journalists from New Jersey and Philadelphia to attend the production on 25 February 1876.[140]

How successfully Jarrett and Palmer implemented Calvert's techniques can be gauged from this review: 'As a pageant it is an affair of most dazzling splendour ; as an acted play it takes its place on a very high plane of art. In the conjunction of these two qualities, it is superior to "Henry V", where the wealth of pageantry overweighted the essentially dramatic qualities of the play'.[141] So far so subjective, but to establish an objective assessment of the success of the application of Calvert's methods, I now examine its commercial success.

A review dated 26 March 1876 tells us that 'the announcement that the term allotted to the representations of "Julius Caesar" is drawing to a close, has not had the effect of diminishing the audiences. On the contrary, there appears to exist a livelier desire than ever to witness the spectacular tragedy previous to its withdrawal'.[142] The play eventually ran from 27 December 1875 to 1 April 1876, an unprecedented run of 103 performances consisting of eighty-five evening performances, fourteen Saturday matinees and four extra matinees. It immediately opened again on 3 April 1876 at the Philadelphia Academy of Music with equal enthusiasm: 'The theatre has been densely crowded every night, and the success is one of the most brilliant and remunerative ever made in Philadelphia'.[143] It was revived there again from 21 May 1876 to 27 May 1876.

In a final ironic twist, in January 1876 Palmer announced his plan to sail on the steamer *Adriatic* to England with the intention of disposing of 'the proposition made by Manager

Chatterton of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, that Jarrett & Palmer should produce "Julius Caesar" there…bringing over, if possible, the three leading men of the great cast, Messrs. Barrett, Bangs and Davenport'.[144] So, just two weeks into its New York run, a Drury Lane manager had so much confidence in it that he suggested it be transferred as a total production to London, vindication of the artistic and commercial merits of Calvert's methods. But in an even more ironic twist, Palmer intended to repatriate Calvert's *Henry V* but without any reference to Calvert's original contributions: 'The phenomenal success of "Henry V" in New York and all the principal cities of the United States where presented has satisfied me that…it would secure a triumph of equal magnitude in London, and hence the decision to complete the arrangements for its offering there next fall'.[145]

## JOHN COLEMAN – THE FRUSTRATED INTERNATIONAL SHAKESPEAREAN

As a counterpoint to the successes enjoyed by Calvert and Rignold, in this section I describe how the success of Calvert's methods, particularly as applied to his revival of *Henry V*, inspired Coleman to emulate him by staging his own revival of the play with the intention of producing it in the United States and Australia. I also explain the reasons for the failure of this endeavour.

Two advertisements placed one above the other (see illustration 4.4) appeared in the *Era* for 11 February 1877. The first announced that, after his appearances at Booth's Theatre in New York, Rignold would embark on a tour of England with his version of *Henry V*. Below was an announcement from Coleman that he would appear in his own production the play in a variety of venues around England, Scotland and Ireland, after which he planned to embark on a second British tour in the autumn before touring both America and Australia, taking all the properties and acting company with him. Coleman even announced that 'Mrs. Adelaide Calvert' would assist him, though in what capacity the advertisement did not specify. This ambitious programme bore a strong resemblance to Rignold's tours and mention of the name 'Calvert' would have lent credibility to this venture. Yet the name 'Coleman' does not appear in any performance histories of *Henry V* in Britain let alone in America and Australia. I attempt in this section to explain why this is.[146]

I was first made aware of Coleman's endeavour in a preview for Rignold's production of *Henry V* at the Queen's Theatre on 1 November 1879 which recalled dismissively that 'Most playgoers have heard of the temporary popularity which the late Mr. Charles Calvert gave at Manchester to "Henry V." by dressing it with glittering accessories, grouping warriors in

picturesque settings, and importing imposing processions not mentioned in the author's text' and that 'Mr. Coleman endeavoured unsuccessfully to impress London audiences with Mr. Calvert's plan'.[147]

If by 'Mr. Calvert's plan' the reviewer meant the methods so successfully employed by Calvert and Jarrett and Palmer in the United States and by Rignold in Australasia, then Coleman did indeed adopt 'Mr. Calvert's plan'. In fact, when a review of Coleman's production from 23 September 1876 deals with the settings and properties, it could be describing one of Calvert's revivals. There was spectacle – 'several of the scenes are striking in effect, as the Coronation in the Abbey, the siege of Harfleur, and the battle of Agincourt' – and there was historical accuracy – 'dresses in accordance with authorities'.[148]

Coleman's memoirs provide further evidence that he, like Kean and Calvert, strove to achieve historical accuracy by visiting locations such as Westminster Abbey, by consulting historical experts and by using Kean's own production as a starting point. Like Calvert, Coleman was something of an innovator, employing photography instead of relying on sketches: 'By the special grace of Dean Stanley we were permitted to photograph the Abbey and the Jerusalem Chamber, to model and reproduce the Coronation Chair and the mystic Stone of Scone beneath it'.[149] Kean's wife even lent Coleman all the sketches and designs her husband had created for his *Henry V* while the authenticity of the costumes, weaponry, armour, trophies and banners were verified by 'Mr. Godwin, the eminent archaeologist',[150] this being the first production 'in which I have been professionally called in'.[151] But there the similarities with Kean and Calvert end. Coleman, through lack of financial discipline and

overambition, failed to adhere to the plan and so failed to match Calvert's domestic and international successes.

On 16 September 1876, Coleman opened at the Queen's Theatre on Long Acre, with *Henry V*. He had assembled a strong cast which included Phelps as Henry IV and Coleman himself as Henry.[152] But, on 18 November 1876, it was announced that 'The Queen's Theatre has suddenly closed again – the revival of Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth* not having proved sufficiently attractive to be profitable to the management'.[153] The first problem was the radical nature of Coleman's changes to the text. Reducing five acts to four could be justified on commercial grounds, but parts of *2 Henry IV* were introduced as a prologue, as was a ballet, which 'was received in such a manner as to induce its avowed withdrawal'.[154] The tableau of the Battle of Agincourt, so impressive in Calvert's revivals, was 'sadly impaired by the unsightly shapes and utterly preposterous expression of two or three "property" horses, who imitated nature so abominably as to evoke laughter rather than admiration'.[155] Another reviewer thought that this production was little more than 'a splendid series of illustrations to Shakespeare's play' and should be regarded as 'a complete historical spectacle rather than a play'. Unfortunately, Coleman's acting edition was 'not a good acting play' although 'Mr. Coleman has attempted by numerous alterations to make it interesting, the new version remains in that respect much what the old one was'.[156] The addition of a section from *2 Henry IV* with Phelps as Henry was 'not of much service to the piece' although the acting of Phelps 'commands respect'.[157] Coleman's working relationship with Edward Godwin was ended by these ill-conceived modifications. Not only was Godwin's scholarship affronted but 'he was obliged to accept the forfeiture of those values of composition and harmony at whose service he placed his learning'.[158] Just seven days after its opening night, a letter from Mr.

Burges in the *Architect* pointed out various absurdities and inaccuracies in the production, questioning 'Why…is the King represented on a horse (a property horse) leading on his troops to the charge, when we know that after exhorting his army he got off his horse and fought on foot?' Burges believed that Coleman had committed 'a grievous injustice towards Mr. Godwin as an artist in putting his name on the top of the bills' and urged Godwin to respond.[159] Godwin's response was published in the *Architect* for 30 September 1876. In a clear attack on Coleman he hoped that 'by engaging men more cultured than those who now endeavour but are wholly incapable to fill the artistic position of stage manager or assistant stage-manager, the stage-picture may easily be made complete'.[160] He continued by revealing his regret that, apart from banners, scenes, some odd properties and some half-dress supernumeraries, 'I saw nothing until the night of public production'.[161]

Coleman's endeavour was a financial as well as an artistic failure. He was unable to recover the costs incurred in the production, which amounted to '£6,000 and more with a net loss of something like £5,000 before the curtain rose on my *début* in town' incurred by his productions of *Othello*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* which had preceded his *Henry V*.[162] Despite the first week's receipts amounting to over £2,100, 'every shilling was mortgaged' and 'the hard-earned savings of a life of strenuous toil were lost'.[163] *Punch* was quick to mock Coleman, referring to him as 'old King COLE-MAN' and describing the present programme as 'elaborate (and excruciatingly sneezingly) scented'.[164]

It is revealing of Coleman's ambitious, but impractical, even delusional, approach to management that writing in his memoirs he appears as self-assured as he had been in his original advertisements. He recalls the triumph of booking Phelps for the role of Henry the

Fourth: ‘My friend Phelps…graciously promised to make the beginning of my career in town the end of his’.[165] He recalled the rhapsodic reviews of his production: ‘there was but one opinion as to the splendour of the spectacle, which both Phelps and Greenwood and even Mrs. Charles Kean and Mr. Planché then generously acknowledged had never been equalled, while I am bold enough to assert even now that it has never since been surpassed’.[166] An advertisement in the *Era* on 8 April 1877 claimed that ‘Mr. Coleman’s “Henry the Fifth” eclipses all revivals’ but this quote from the *Birmingham Mail* may have inadvertently captured the mood of the audience: ‘”Henry the Fifth” is mounted in a style never before witnessed on the stage’.[167]

Undeterred, Coleman embarked on a tour of Britain but now ‘assisted by Mrs. Charles Calvert’.[168] Mention of her name at the top of the advertisement would immediately catch the attention of any keen theatregoer but why would such a successful actor agree to appear in a production of such uncertain quality? The answer may lie in the long-established friendship between Calvert and Coleman. In his memoirs Coleman relates how he and Calvert ‘besieged Mr. Phelps at the stage door’ of his Sadler’s Wells theatre on ‘the very day the theatre opened’, dating the encounter to 27 May 1844.[169] Coleman was thirteen years old, Calvert sixteen but, according to Coleman, ‘Calvert went one way and I the other, nor did we meet again till many years had elapsed’.[170] The next connection between the two seems to have their co-authorship of *Rube the Showman* which was licensed by the Lord Chamberlain’s Office on 19 February 1862. Coleman appeared in the lead role throughout a successful nationwide tour of this play during that year. Other evidence of collaborations between the two men has not come to light but Calvert’s wife seems to have agreed to appear with

Coleman in his *Henry V* out of a desire to help an old friend rather than through lack of demand for her own acting talents.

Unfortunately, her involvement could not make up for deficiencies in the production. Prompted by criticism of the cancellation at short notice of the play's appearance at Leicester's Theatre Royal, a revealing letter from Coleman's manager, H. Herbert, provided insights into the challenges encountered in touring with a play based on spectacle: 'To produce Henry V, in a manner worthy of the great bard's noble work, we carry with us 14 tons of scenery, dresses, armour and arms, properties and paraphernalia representing a money value of £3,000'.[171] It transpired that the Theatre Royal in Leicester could not accommodate even half this material, so the production there had to be postponed until the new Theatre Royal on Silver Street was available.

In an attempt to reduce costs, by 24 April 1877 the play no longer included Calvert in her role as Clio or Phelps as Henry the Fourth in the prologue.[172] Cost overrode quality even in the lower ranks of the company. An advertisement in the *Era* invited applications for one or two gentlemen to appear in the play at the Theatre Royal in Hanley but they had to state 'their lowest terms'.[173] This parsimony also affected the morale of the behind the scenes personnel. The carpenters at the Theatre Royal in Nottingham went on strike as they had been 'engaged to be always in readiness during the production of the piece, and to have with them a good supply of nails, &c.' and during the stay of Coleman's company they had become increasingly disgruntled. The production would not have proceeded at all had there not been 'a practical man in the acting company'.[174] After opening in Edinburgh, Coleman took the production to Birmingham, Liverpool and Sheffield but thereafter, locations became smaller

and more scattered while the runs became shorter. In locations such as South Shields, Wigan and Burnley, the press, not wanting to offend theatre owners or to detract from the privilege of having a touring company perform Shakespeare in their town, typically lauded the production as being the most spectacular, most colourful play they had ever seen but the press in places such as Brighton and Bristol were more forthright. In the opinion of the *Brighton Herald*, Coleman's changes meant that Shakespeare's work was 'torn into tatters and transformed into a patch-work for spectacular effects' and dismissed his adaptation as 'not Shakespeare, but a mere vehicle for furnishing pegs on which to hang a brilliant array of scenic effects'.[175] The same periodical acknowledged that 'the piece is one of the most gorgeous ever placed on the Brighton stage' but of Coleman's acting prowess it scathingly stated that 'His utterance of his charge to the soldiers and the actions with which he accompanied it constitute, perhaps, as weak a performance of that stirring episode as could be presented'.[176]

By the time it reached Bristol in September 1877, the production had been subjected to innumerable revisions in an *ex tempore* fashion: 'Since its production at the Queen's Theatre there have been numerous alterations in the piece, and many of the characters – important in the play of the immortal bard – are now of the most trifling length'. The result was that the production was now all spectacle and no play, 'a good peg whereon to hang the numerous processions, battle-scenes, and grand spectacular display with which Mr. Coleman has embellished the production'.[177]

Calvert's approach was based on long runs in one location, thus avoiding the costs of repeatedly loading and unloading properties while maintaining continuity in the acting

company and in the behind-the-scenes staff. Coleman, out of necessity, adopted the opposite approach. It seems that the frequent changes of location often led to a lack of rehearsal time, the effect of which was described in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette's* review of the opening night: 'the effect of the coronation incident was greatly marred…by the loud tones in which the principal actor conveyed the stage directions which he found necessary to give…and almost came to be part and parcel of the performance'.[178] The same changes of location also began to take their toll on the scenery. By the time his company reached Bradford in December 1877, the reviewer expressed the view that 'It is perhaps unfortunate for Bradford that the production should not have been brought here before, seeing that by this time the splendour of the spectacle has been worn away to a considerable extent'.[179] This pattern of short runs at frequently changing venues was continued for the rest of the tour. After five nights in Bradford there followed an untypically long run of one month in Londonderry followed by sojourns of between three and six nights at Belfast, Wigan, Halifax, Burnley and Derby before its final rendition at the Theatre Royal, Middlesbrough on 1 June 1878. (It is an example of how unreliable memoirs can be in that Coleman states the tour ended in Nottingham whereas I have found no evidence of his company ever visiting that location.)[180]

Coleman's 1877 advertisement promised much. Of the venues listed, the productions at Dublin, Manchester and York never occurred while his second tour played to smaller venues than the first. It is typical of Coleman's recollections of the tour in his memoirs that he exaggerates his artistic prowess and the stature of the venues but he injects some honesty about its financial failure: '…we went to all the principal theatres with unvarying success…but our expenses were so enormous as to seriously diminish our profits'.[181] And

what of his ambition to tour America and Australia? The advertisement from the *Era* of 11 February 1877 stated that this would have taken place after his second tour which was to commence in the autumn of 1877. The lack of performances in July 1877 could be regarded as being Coleman's 'closed season', so his second tour, although never officially announced as such, started on 18 August 1877 in Huddersfield and ended on 1 June 1878 in Middlesbrough. This schedule would point to a planned start date for a production in the United States of July or August 1878. However, there is no evidence that he ever toured America and Australia with his *Henry V* in that or any other year. For an explanation of this, we need to turn to Coleman's memoirs. Coleman claims that 'The fame of Henry V. had reached America, and Augustin Daly offered me an engagement in New York'.[182] In 1869, Daly, after a career as a theatre critic, leased the Fifth Avenue Theatre in New York. Within a year, he established a profitable business based on lavish productions of sensational dramas, light comedies and adaptations of works by Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Wilkie Collins, Mark Twain and his own heavily redacted arrangements of Shakespeare. Daly and Coleman shared a love of all things lavish, sensational and Shakespearean so a collaboration between the two men would have seemed mutually beneficial.

However, according to Coleman, Daly 'had only just commenced his brilliant career there and did not see his way to make a substantial deposit, which was absolutely essential to complete the contract, so the American tour fell through, and I had to fall back upon one at home'.[183] Daly's 'brilliant career' had in fact started in 1869 with his rental of the Fifth Street Theatre in New York and, despite it being destroyed by fire in 1873, by 1878 his career was firmly established so Coleman is wrong here.[184] Daly's 'substantial deposit' was essential only because Coleman's own finances were in such a poor state while his suggestion that he

had to fall back on a tour at home does not fit in with his advertised intention to tour America after his second domestic tour. It is more likely that Daly, mindful of the high production standards achieved by Calvert, Jarrett and Palmer and Rignold, did not regard the transportation of fourteen tons of worn-out scenery across the Atlantic an attractive artistic or financial proposition.

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 4 – CALVERT'S SWANSONG – *HENRY VIII* – AND BISHOP JAMES FRASER

In this chapter I provide a summary of *Henry VIII*, Calvert's final Shakespeare revival in Manchester, and demonstrate how the preface of his acting edition of the play alluded to a local clergyman who had spoken out in support of the theatre – Bishop James Fraser. I then outline Fraser's early career, discuss his mission to purify the theatre by employing the plays of Shakespeare, describe his ground-breaking sermons in two Manchester theatres and assess their nationwide impact.

In late 1874, the directors of the Prince's Theatre were in the process of acquiring the Queen's theatre with Calvert earmarked to manage both houses.[1] Having inaugurated his management of the Queen's Theatre on 29 March 1875 with *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* Calvert's influence over Shakespearean theatre was poised to become even greater.[2] He assumed that he would be adequately remunerated for his management of two theatres but instead he was informed after the opening night that he would not receive any increase in his salary.[3] The press reported Calvert's response: 'It is stated that Mr. Charles Calvert has terminated his long and honourable connection with the Prince's Theatre, and is about to move to London'.[4] The Calverts moved to Barnes and, after a disappointing tour of the British Isles with his version of Byron's *Sardanapalus* and a failed collaboration with the opera impresario James Mapleson and the leading opera soprano Thérèse Titjens to construct a Grand Opera House on the Thames Embankment, Calvert was approached by a representative from the Theatre Royal in Manchester with a proposal to produce *Henry VIII* which was to run for thirteen weeks in Manchester and for two in Liverpool.[5]

Opening on 27 August 1877, the production adhered to his customary model for delivering artistic, critical and financial success and continued his collaboration with the finest producers of scenery who had worked with him at the Prince's Theatre.[6] The production included 'a series of striking tableaux, and gorgeous processions, the like of which have rarely, if ever, been seen either here or elsewhere' which were the work of 'the greatest of our scenic artists – Telbin, the Grieves, Hann, Spong, and others'.[7] Calvert's insistence on historical accuracy is as evident in this play as it was in his previous revivals. The King's council chamber in the second scene of the first act was 'an exact representation of the Painted Chamber at Westminster, taken from William Capon's drawing in *Vetusta Monumenta'*.[8] Calvert's acting edition of the play at first seems unremarkable. There were some alterations and rearrangements of the scenes in the first three acts and the fourth act was condensed so that its main interest was divided between the Coronation of Anne Boleyn and the death of Katherine. However, it contains a clue to a significant shift in the attitude of the church towards the theatre which had been initiated in Manchester a year earlier. In his preface, dated August 1877, Calvert expressed his frustration at the enduring prejudice of the church towards the stage:

> It cannot be denied that if the Theatre were admitted to be compatible with Christian sobriety, it would be the most complete and interesting of all amusements, but unhappily we are so assailed by the unchristian "anathemas" of Christian ministers, "*who neither know our faculties or persons, yet will be the chroniclers of our doings*", that our best endeavours make but little impression on the widespread and ignorant prejudice such unreasoning calumniators engender.

In his view the stage was helpless in the face of this prejudice believing that 'As a body, we actors are numerically insignificant and almost powerless against the slanders levelled at us from sacred places'. Significantly but obliquely he added that 'Here and there (notably here in Manchester) a strong voice will occasionally speak for us, and kindle our gratitude in no less measure than our traducers excite our disdain'.[9] These words seem to amount to nothing more than one man's lament for the regard in which the theatre was held and his inability to improve it. However, his reference to a 'strong voice' is an allusive reference to an influential clerical figure in Manchester who a year earlier had taken ground-breaking steps towards the purification of the theatre and making it a force for good – Bishop James Fraser.

The church had consistently criticised the theatre – or, more specifically, its debased manifestations – for promoting immorality. For example, Charles Kingsley in *Plays and Puritans* (1873) argued that 'Few highly educated men now think it worth while to go to see any plays…and still fewer educated men think it worth while writing plays finding, since the grosser excitements of the imagination have become forbidden themes, there is very little to write about'.[10] Only Shakespeare merited any praise from Kingsley since 'The higher elements in him…the deep spiritual knowledge which makes, and will make, Shakespeare's plays (and them alone of all the seventeenth-century plays) a heritage for all men and all ages'.[11] Charles Kemble, writing in 1832, believed that 'religious prejudice is very much increased…and they take away a great number of persons from the theatre who formerly used to frequent it'.[12] Yet the reviewer of an after-dinner speech delivered by Irving in Edinburgh almost six decades later in February 1891 felt confident enough to claim that:

> The old feeling of prejudice which classed the player with the professional vagabond no longer exists… Certain it is that Mr. Irving is quite justified in claiming that there never was a time in which so many young recruits were daily joining their ranks, from the great body of the more highly educated classes. "Society" no longer holds it a reproach to be an actor, whilst church and stage have found that they have not little in common.[13]

How did Manchester and the works of Shakespeare contribute to this shift in attitude? Perhaps the improvement in the theatre's reputation could be attributed to a lessening of the influence of the church in the city. However, between 1870 and 1884 – a period which covers Calvert's career in Manchester – ninety-nine new churches were consecrated, twenty churches were rebuilt and 109 district parishes established.[14] In 1870, his first year as Lord Bishop, Fraser confirmed four thousand young people and by 1876 he had confirmed 71,000 people, an average of a little over ten thousand *per annum*.[15] The influence of the church was also strengthened by financial support from local industry. The £6,000 construction cost of the parish church of Gorton, consecrated on 2 December 1872, was met by Charles Frederick Beyer, chair of the railway locomotive construction firm Beyer, Peacock and Co.[16] The expanding religious infrastructure and the commensurate increase in attendances at church services would have increased the church's potential for denigrating the theatre but this did not occur. Instead, it was the attitude of the church towards the theatre that was transformed and that transformation was in part inspired by Fraser.

It is important to acknowledge that the church's attitude towards the theatre had begun to shift earlier in the Victorian era so Fraser was continuing an existing trend. Foulkes's *Church and Stage in Victorian England* is an excellent source of information and discussion on this

topic. According to Foulkes, 'the theatre…at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign was widely regarded as the lowliest of the arts, if one at all'.[17] Yet the church wished to improve its relationship with the theatre, one reason being that:

> Urbanisation and industrialisation created large concentrations of population. Even the less well-off had some leisure in which to seek respite from their drudgery. The church was faced with a dilemma. It could either reject this secular culture and thereby alienate large numbers of people, whom it was its mission to serve, or it could countenance it, seek to influence it.[18]

To make the theatre acceptable to the church, in Foulkes's opinion, 'The leadership of Macready and Kean was crucial'.[19] It was Charles Kean who had been put in charge of the Windsor Theatricals, established by Queen Victoria at Prince Albert's instigation 'in an attempt to revive an elevate the English drama which has greatly deteriorated through lack of support by Society', as she explained in a letter dated 6 January 1849 to the King of Prussia.[20] His involvement brought the patronage of royalty to the theatre's cause. Foulkes points out that 'An indication of the changing attitudes towards the theatre and the value of influential social connections was the testimonial given to Kean at St. James's Hall in March 1862'.[21] Kean's Eton school-fellows purchased nine pieces of silver which were 'displayed like communion plate on the altar'. One of the pieces was a vase inscribed 'as a tribute to a Great Actor, and in recognition of his unremitting efforts to improve the tone and elevate the character of the British stage'.[22] This testimonial was presided over Gladstone who thirty years earlier has opposed the theatre. In his diary for 29 December 1832, he had written 'Nor do I now think myself warranted in withdrawing from the practices of my fellow men. Except

when they really *involve* the encouragement of sin: in which class I certainly rank races and theatre'.[23] But now he reversed his judgement: 'The drama…had been characteristic of the whole history of man, and we could not assign a secondary place to it in this country, which had given birth to by far the greatest dramatist in the world'.[24] The Shakespeare tercentenary celebrations of 1864 provided an opportunity to demonstrate that acceptance of the stage by the church was now on a national rather than metropolitan scale. On the National Shakespeare Committee, among a selection of dukes, earls, lords and baronets, sat the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Dublin, the Bishops of London, Worcester and St. David's and the Deans of Canterbury, Westminster, St. Paul's and Chichester.[25] Fraser therefore made his contributions in an atmosphere of increasing support for the theatre within some of the most prestigious and influential sections of society and, of most importance to him, the church. What made his contributions distinctive were the venues in which he delivered his sermons in support of the theatre, the overwhelmingly positive nationwide reception to these sermons and his promotion of Shakespeare as a means of purifying the theatre.

Fraser's ecclesiastical career commenced in January 1844 when he was elected sub-dean at Oriel College, Oxford. In 1858, he was appointed Assistant Commissioner to the Royal Commission on Education with responsibility for a group of thirteen poor law unions in the south-west of England. Fraser's report published in 1861 was described as a 'superb, I had almost said a unique, piece of work'.[26] In 1860, he accepted the rectory of Ufton Nervet in Berkshire, a parish of some 370 inhabitants, where he developed a great capacity for leadership which would serve him well in Manchester. In March 1865 he was given the remit to report on education in the United States of America where he resided from May until

October and in 1867, at the request of the Home Secretary, he prepared a report on the south-eastern district of England for the Commission on the Employment of Children in Agriculture.[27]

His range of ecclesiastical appointments and his reports on education especially persuaded Gladstone to offer him the See of Manchester, commenting that '… it is your interest in and mastery of the question of public education which has led me to believe you might perform at Manchester…a most important work for the Church and for the country'.[28] Fraser quickly established himself as an approachable, progressive clergyman whose contributions gained national recognition. Seven months after his consecration on 25 March 1870 at the city's cathedral, the *North British Daily Mail* published a glowing response to his address to the Manchester branch of the Early Closing Association on 4 October 1870: 'Every one of Mr Gladstone's Episcopal appointments has come upon the public as something of a surprise…And certainly in no instance has the wisdom of his choice been so speedily or signally justified. The new Bishop, finding himself set down in the centre of a business community, has tackled to his work in a business-like fashion'.[29]

Fraser also came to the attention of the London press: 'The two most sensible big-wigs now speaking are…the Bishop of Manchester among the clergy, and the Earl of Derby among the laity, of the Upper Ten. The Bishop, measured by this bench-mark, seems a marvel of courage and sense'. This account also contained a hint that Fraser may take a view of the theatre which diverged from that generally held by the church: 'He has been heard to admit the necessity of amusement, and even to rejoice that it can be found, wholesome and good, in a well-managed Manchester theatre'.[30]

If his enthusiasm, work ethic and willingness to engage with people of all classes meant Fraser was the right man for Manchester, then Manchester was the ideal location from which he could promote his ideas. Gladstone, in his letter offering Fraser the See of Manchester, acknowledged the city's pivotal position: 'Manchester is the centre of the modern life of the country'.[31] We see in the letters of congratulation sent to Fraser after his appointment that other figures of high rank concurred with Gladstone's opinion. The Dean of Westminster, the Very Reverend Arthur Stanley, wrote of the city's potential: 'I am delighted to hear you have accepted Manchester…It is a splendid field, in one sense, the most splendid of all the bishoprics, because it contains within itself more of the germs of the future'.[32] Lord Lingen wrote of the city as a type of heavenly body: 'I congratulate you very sincerely. Manchester lies on one of the outer orbits of life, and passes through much more space in the same time than Ufton Nervet'.[33]

But what of Shakespeare's plays? How did Fraser exploit them to further his cause of promoting and purifying the theatre? An early example of his ground-breaking attitude can be found in his speech to the Early Closing Association on 4 October 1870 where he complimented Calvert directly: 'Since his "consecration" he has seen and done many things which it is unusual for Bishop to say or do. One of the most notable examples of his peculiarity is to be found in the parenthetical recommendation of plays and play-going – with special reference to the Shaksperian [*sic*] revivals which are now being carried out by Mr. Calvert, the spirited and skilful lessee of a Manchester Theatre'.[34]

Fraser next mentions Shakespeare and Calvert in a lecture about liberal studies delivered at Manchester's Athenæum on 1 December 1875. While admitting that 'no one deplored more

than he did the condition into which the English stage, speaking generally, had fallen', he believed that the theatre and those connected with it could be transformed into 'instruments for "purifying the morals of our people"'. In his view, 'he had done no more than his duty as a Christian Bishop in saying he was glad that Charles Calvert had put on the stage of Manchester dramas like *Henry V* and *Richard III*'.[35] Fraser continued his promotion of Shakespeare in his support of his mission to purify the theatre in a speech at the opening of the new hall of the Ramsbottom Industrial and Provident Society on 16 September 1876. He asserted that '…it was not altogether demoralising, or in any way enervating, or otherwise other than an ennobling thing, for people to go and see the great plays of *Hamlet* performed by a great actor such as Mr. Irving was'. His aim was to make the theatres 'as pure as they could be made' and he was greatly encouraged 'when he found that a great actor, coming to Manchester, seemed to draw many more people than those half-dressed indecent females who exposed themselves in photographs all over our hoardings'. His words were met with loud applause and cheers.[36]

Encouraged by the reactions to his support of the theatre, Fraser moved on from the safe havens of parenthetical references and addresses to private members' clubs to accept an invitation from the managers of the main theatres in Manchester to deliver two ground-breaking and revolutionary sermons on 2 February 1877, first in the Theatre Royal and then in the Prince's Theatre. Fraser would have felt that both theatres were acceptable venues for his speeches, given their associations with Shakespeare. The physical symbol of cultural value and respectability in the form of a statue of Shakespeare had looked over the main entrance of the Theatre Royal for three decades while Calvert's Shakespearean revivals at the Prince's Theatre, particularly his *Henry V* from 1875, would still be fresh in the minds of

Mancunians. Fraser's appearance on the stage of the Theatre Royal was appropriately dramatic: 'The front of the stage was enclosed by a scene, and the Bishop standing in the foreground appeared to be speaking in a Gothic chamber'. Commencing his sermon, Fraser admitted his apprehension at taking such a sensational step: 'You can easily imagine that it is with feelings very mingled, in which anxiety largely predominates. that I have accepted the invitation to address you in this theatre. I fancy that I must be the first Bishop of the Church of England, if I am not the first Bishop of the Church of Christ, who has ever addressed a congregation in a theatre'.[37]

Recalling first the traditional hostility of the church towards the theatre and actors, Fraser announced that 'The fathers of the early Church were very severe in their judgment upon stage-players, and the early canons of the Church refused Baptism and Holy Communion to actors until they had renounced their trade' but 'now was the time for the church to enter the theatre'. Rather than stand aside and criticise the theatre, Fraser encouraged the church to introduce the word of God into it: 'I should be quite content if the wholesome and sound moral influence of Christianity…could be found always to be the ruling principle of the Theatre Royal, Manchester, and of every theatre, whether royal or not, in the land'.[38]

Following Dawson's advocation of Shakespeare as a moral guide, but without ever acknowledging his contributions, Fraser turned to Shakespeare and his plays as the most effective way of achieving his mission to purify the theatre, a daring step since the mid-Victorian clergy had venerated Shakespeare as a poet but not as a playwright: '…I think no one ever left a theatre where he had seen '*Hamlet'* or '*Othello'* well performed without in

some sense or other feeling his whole nature elevated and strengthened and, even if not spiritualized, at any rate the waters had been wholesome to him that he had drunk at'.[39]

Fraser also wished to enhance the reputation of the acting profession. By giving examples of his friendships with leading actors of the day, he promoted their admirable qualities and good works:

> …in 1858 I went to Sherborne in Dorset and there I found…teaching the ignorant, going night by night to the ragged school – the great tragedian of the last age, Macready. Again, in 1865, when I was travelling in Canada, I met on a steamer careering down the St. Lawrence, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean. I spent two or three days in their company, and I never enjoyed any person's company more. Last year I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Theodore Martin at Lord Egerton's at Tatton, and a more accomplished lady I think you cannot find'.[40]

His second sermon at the Prince's Theatre closely resembled his first and he even invoked Shakespeare when excusing himself for any repetition:'I have come to speak upon a subject which, with such an audience, hardly admits of variety of treatment. When a great actor appeared upon the stage and performed the character of Hamlet or of Othello, we were content if he played his part well, and did not expect him on the second night to introduce variations upon the performance of the first night'.[41]

Fraser's sermons would have been revolutionary had their impact been restricted to Manchester and its environs. However, over the following week, reports appeared in newspapers and journals all over the British Isles – from Montrose to Truro, from Dublin to

Whitby. The *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* started its account with the words 'Well done Bishop Fraser!'[42] The *Eastern Morning News* wrote: 'But of all his episcopal actions, that of which we are inclined to feel proudest is his visit to the theatre for the purpose of "preaching" to the actors and the actresses'.[43] Dublin's *Freeman's Journal* cautioned that the Bishop 'loves sensationalism over much' but nevertheless praised his stance, believing that 'however sensational the Bishop's visit was, his addresses to the actors of the Royal and the Prince's Theatre, which he afterward visited, were sound, and wise, and Christian'.[44] The *Daily Chronicle* used a reference to Shakespeare in support of Fraser's speeches: 'If nothing else could save the profession from contempt, it would be the reflection that the greatest genius England ever produced, the immortal Shakespeare, wrote for the stage, and put into the mouths of actor thoughts which bear the impress of divinity'.[45] In contrast, the *Manchester Guardian*, perhaps fearful of offending its more conservative readers, was initially unenthusiastic, claiming on the following day that the addresses possessed the 'interest of novelty' and that they 'may, no doubt, be useful'.[46] Overtly critical reports are few so this comment from *Dublin's Evening Telegraph* is therefore untypical: 'But what a daring man he must be to speak in presence of a company the most insignificant member of which in all probability is a better elocutionist than himself…The notion is a very odd one, and in some respects is hardly complimentary to the profession'.[47]

Associating one's theatre to religion was now not only acceptable but good business too. It did not take many days for the proprietors of the Alexandra Hall on Peter Street to capitalise on Fraser's oblique reference to their distinctively coloured publicity poster by placing this advertisement in the local press:

The Most Legitimate Hall of Amusement.
ALEXANDRA HALL, Peter-street, Manchester.
The Most Attractive, Cheerful, Popular and Respectable Place of Entertainment in the World.
Vulgarity, and depravity very firmly discountenanced by the management.
---
REFERRING to the policy pursued by the Management of the Alexandra Hall, Peter-Street, Manchester, while addressing the Theatrical Profession, the LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER said: " I have noticed one large, yellow placard inviting people to a house where it was promised that entertainment should be 'cheerful, popular, and respectable,' and I should like all theatres to keep distinctly before them those three ideas. "[48]

Emboldened by Fraser's actions, other prominent clergymen stepped forward to support him. The Archdeacon of Leicester, the Venerable Henry Fearon declared that 'My belief is that for the clergy to set their faces against all theatrical performances is a great mistake, and that rightly directed they are a valuable means of public instruction'.[49] The Dean of Westminster, Stanley, agreed: 'I so much admire your address to the actors. You appear to me to possess the singular gift of going to the very verge of imprudence, and yet never crossing it. That, in your position, is almost perfection'.[50] (Stanley was the leading liberal theologian of his time and his reputation allied to his position at the heart of the capital rendered his support especially influential.) Evidence of criticism from the church is less easy to locate but the Dean of Carlisle, Francis Close, prayed that 'serious evils may not result from the well-intentioned but…most disastrous advice which has thus been proclaimed on the floor of two theatres by a Christian bishop'.[51]

Fraser's views had gained such respectability that they were recounted by speakers at the luncheon to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone of the Shakespeare Memorial on 23 April 1877. Tom Taylor, in proposing *Success to the Shakespeare Memorial*, stated that 'he saw signs of hope, of promise, in that the Bishop of Manchester had recognised the theatre as

within the pale of episcopal benediction' and described Fraser's words as being 'large-minded utterances'. Theodore Martin in his toast to 'The Drama' referred to him as 'one of the most broadminded of our bishops'.[52] Fraser had read not just the local mood but the national mood most accurately and so propelled Manchester, its theatres, the concept of Shakespeare as a playwright and his own mission to purify the theatre into the national consciousness.

Fraser's next intervention occurred at the Church Congress held in Sheffield from 1 to 4 October 1878. On the third day the Archbishop of York presided over a meeting devoted to *Popular Literature and Recreation – The Theatre*, whose proceedings demonstrated widespread support for Fraser's mission. The Reverend, the Earl of Mulgrave acknowledged the theatre's potential for offering educational and spiritual enrichment: 'The theatre, besides offering satisfaction to a taste which in its own nature was pure, might surely be declared a most important agent in the education of the people'.[53] Mulgrave also urged the church to engage at last with Fraser's mission to purify the theatre: 'The Church had condemned, abused, denounced the theatres in councils, sermons, tracts and platform addresses ; but what had she done towards its moral reform?' He mentioned Manchester's role in the purification of the theatre and noted that the clergy were willing participants: 'A society has been organised in Manchester called the "Dramatic Reform Society" and surely it might be said to be under the auspices of the church when it numbered amongst its vice presidents two of the bishops of the church'. He made it clear that the aims of the society were the encouragement of 'good plays and performances, and good acting', the promotion of 'the study of works by the best dramatic authors' and the discouragement of 'objectionable plays and performances'. His words were met with applause.[54] W. Smith emphasised the theatre's potential for good:

'It was capable…of being rendered a great moral teacher if properly cared for and directed'. Words of support for Fraser elicited applause and cries of 'Hear, hear' but the dissenting contribution of the vehemently evangelical Reverend George Everard of Wolverhampton – 'the theatre must be abandoned or the church was lost' – was shouted down with cries of 'No!'.[55]

Fraser agreed with the sentiments expressed by most of the speakers but cautioned that his mission was made difficult by the constraints within which theatre managers operated. He recalled asking one of the directors of the company which owned two Manchester theatres why he did not produce one of Shakespeare's plays: 'That would not pay' was the answer. Fraser stated that 'he did not believe that actors or play writers wished to corrupt the stage, but they were obliged by the very necessities of their position to conform more or less to the demands of the age'.[56] Other clergymen spoke out in support of Fraser. In October and November 1878 at the Unitarian Chapel on Essex Street in London, the Reverend James Panton Ham, who had served as minister of Manchester's Cross Street Unitarian Chapel between 1855 and 1859, delivered seven discourses on *The Theatre and the Theatric Profession*, in which he referred to Fraser as 'the Bishop of Manchester – that good, brave man' for his attitude towards the stage.[57] Panton Ham himself felt bold enough to publish his own views on the relationship between church and the theatre in his *The Pulpit and the Stage: Four Lectures* published in 1878.

No previous Church Congress had ever dealt with the theatre nor did any subsequent Congress during the nineteenth century. The decision to add this subject to the proceedings of the 1878 Congress was a direct result of the widespread support for Fraser's sermons the

previous year. For the first time, the church could openly state without fear of provoking outrage that the theatre could be a force for good and that the church itself should take an active part in improving it.

Although other clerics came out in support of the theatre, Fraser held fast to his aim of using Shakespeare and serious drama to improve the theatre and refused to lend his support to initiatives which involved other forms of entertainment. For example, in May 1879 the Reverend Stewart Headlam, Curate of St. Matthew's in Bethnal Green, established the Church and Stage Guild, whose main objective was 'to break down the prejudice against theatres, actors, music-hall artists, stage singers and dancers'.[58] According to Newey and Roberts, 'Within a year, the Guild had 470 members, of whom 172 were theatrical and 91 clergy'.[59] However, Headlam's support of stage singers and dancers did not fit with Fraser's insistence on mobilising Shakespeare and high quality drama to purify the theatre so he declared that 'I am afraid that the Church and Stage Guild has not recommended itself to me as an institution likely to be productive of much good'.[60]

It is impossible to assess Fraser's influence independently from that exercised by all the other social, economic and cultural factors which concurrently operated in Manchester. Perhaps the church's attitude towards the stage would have changed if Fraser had never been appointed. It may, therefore, be more helpful to seek evidence of his influence on the attitudes of the press, theatre management and audiences. Ten years after his sermons in the theatres, the Manchester press reported that 'The clerical denunciation of the stage…is by no means as common as it used to be'.[61] There is evidence that clergymen were now willing to attend theatres without fear of reproach. A correspondent in the *Church Review* wrote that 'At the

Lyceum may be seen thirty or forty clergy'.[62] Moreover, the church could now form the acceptable subject matter of a drama with one production meeting with significant clerical favour. Wilson Barrett's melodrama *The Sign of the Cross* produced at the Lyceum in 1896 was the sensational story of the attraction between a Roman prefect and a female Christian prisoner. One observer noted that 'Clericals...were present in remarkable attendance. There were parsons to the right of me, parsons to the left of me, parsons in front of me…'[63] while the play's demonstrations of the virtues of the Christian faith and contrasts between Christian piety and pagan corruption were praised from the pulpit and even recommended to congregations.[64]

The voice of the ordinary theatregoer is not often heard but the sentiments contained within a letter submitted by 'Bitten' almost a quarter of a century after Fraser's acceptance of the See of Manchester illustrate his enduring and pervasive influence:

> About 24 years ago the late Bishop of Manchester, Bishop Fraser, in a speech to young men, said that he thought young people might fare worse than visit the Prince's Theatre and see the performance then going on of Shakespeare's "*Richard III"*. I had not been brought up to attend theatres and balls, but was at the time still 'unconverted'. I thought the Bishop's remark a rare handle, as I knew my parents, although not members of the Church of England, had a very high opinion of Bishop Fraser. I used the handle, and got permission to go. What was the result? Complete fascination for theatrical performances and attendances on every possible occasion, sometimes with permission and sometimes without'.[65]

## CHAPTER 6 – THE ACTOR AND THE ARCHITECT

In this chapter I describe the evolution of the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan, the influences which shaped its development, its practical applications and its impact on theatre design. I argue that no connection had a greater impact on theatre architecture in the late nineteenth century than that between Irving and Darbyshire and that the making of this connection was attributable to Calvert who had befriended Irving on his arrival in Manchester and had brought Irving and Darbyshire together. I also argue that Manchester was the ideal location for Darbyshire to learn about fireproofing techniques for buildings, that Darbyshire was the ideal architect to apply these ideas to the theatre and that Irving was the ideal theatre manager to assist Darbyshire.

First, I summarise the career of Darbyshire, describe how at an early stage he achieved international repute and explain how his friendship with Irving originated before moving on to discuss the events which convinced Darbyshire that change in theatre design was essential. I then describe the first tangible product of Darbyshire's ideas, his 1884 Comedy Theatre (illustration 1.19), and explain how a fire in the Theatre Royal in Exeter prompted Darbyshire and Irving to formally document and publicise their 'Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan'. Darbyshire went on to design several theatres which followed this plan and I describe the various features of these buildings. I then discuss the documentary history of the plan and how it was refined following its first incarnation in 1887. The chapter closes with an account of Irving's surprising and self-destructive response to the guidance contained in the safety plan which bore his name.

In 1855, Darbyshire was articled to the Manchester architect, Peter Alley, in 1862 he set up his own practice with an office in St. James' Square and in 1886 he joined with Frederick Bennett Smith to form the Darbyshire-Smith architectural practice. It was while in Alley's employ that Darbyshire became aware of the importance of incorporating fireproofing techniques in the design and construction of buildings, especially cotton mills, which were particularly vulnerable to fire because airborne cotton fibres and large volumes of flammable lubricants stored alongside the mill machinery created an explosive atmosphere. The first proposal to address these risks stipulated that the main structure of the mill should be made of brick and that the floors should be made of shallow brick or 'jack' arches resting on timber or cast-iron beams supported by cast-iron columns. These iron-framed mills were described as being of 'fireproof construction'. Darbyshire designed several fireproof cotton mills in Lancashire and obtained his first experience of influencing architectural design internationally when he was asked to design the world's largest spinning and weaving mill to be constructed on an island near St. Petersburg in Russia using fireproof construction techniques. Shortly after establishing his own practice, he was contracted to provide plans for a fireproof sugar refinery in Dublin, the owners of which insisted that the plans were reviewed by an experienced architect. Darbyshire approached the most eminent mill-builder of the day, Sir William Fairbairn. He encouraged Darbyshire to use wrought iron instead of cast iron as the former was able to withstand greater loads, a decision which in Darbyshire's opinion 'was the inauguration of a complete revolution in constructive ironwork, and the foundation of a giant industry'.[1] These early experiences illustrate why Darbyshire was later able to embark on revolutionising theatre design since he had proved willing to tackle complex, high profile projects outside Britain, to be receptive to innovative ideas and to be able to incorporate these ideas into his own original and innovative designs.

To see how Darbyshire gained further experience of architectural innovation internationally, it will be instructive to examine an opportunity which presented itself in an industry far removed from the theatre. In 1872 Darbyshire '… was persuaded to enter an open competition for the first great abattoir establishment in this country, to be erected by the Corporation of Manchester'.[2] His original idea to satisfy the requirements of the scheme, whereby an abattoir and a carcase market were combined in the same building, had been accepted by the Corporation who awarded him the 'First Premium' prize of £150. Darbyshire's innovative design was 'copied and used…all over Europe, and with the exception of a fee from the Corporation of Cardiff, no financial benefit accrued to its inventor beyond the remuneration from the Manchester Corporation'.[3] Darbyshire's ability to produce a novel and innovative yet practical and economically viable solution to satisfy the complex requirements of an expensive public building (the abattoir cost £16,000)[4] while being willing to share the solution for no fee presaged his approach to the formulation and dissemination of the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan.

Having discussed Darbyshire's credentials as architect, I must step back a few years to explain how his association with Irving developed. In 1865, Irving accepted a contract with Dion Boucicault at the St. James's Theatre in London and Darbyshire was elected to a committee whose remit was to organise a series of farewell benefits in Irving's honour, the first of which took place in Manchester's Free Trade Hall on 12 April 1865. According to Darbyshire: 'The inhabitants of Bury…were anxious to have a share in these farewell performances, and a committee was formed for carrying out this object'.[5] The play selected was *Hamlet* which was performed at the Athenæum in Bury on 23 and 24 June 1865 with Irving in the title role and Darbyshire as Polonius. (Incidentally, it is indicative of the strength

of their friendship that Darbyshire was prepared to defy the orders of the Quakers whose beliefs forbade him from acting.)

The careers of the two friends then continued at a distance. Between 1869 and 1880 Darbyshire's career led him to be 'often occupied with work in connection with buildings used as theatres'[6] and especially with work at the Prince's Theatre where, from 1869 until 1877, he was 'constantly employed in providing for the comfort of the audience, and in adding lavishly to the decoration, furniture and general appointments' including covering the auditorium with a new ceiling and small central dome in 1873.[7] Much of the work during this period was executed by artists and tradesmen based in London, so Darbyshire made frequent trips there and was able to meet people such as the artist Henry Stacy Marks who was a fervent admirer of Shakespeare's works. Some of Marks's earliest paintings, such as *Dogberry Examining Conrade and Borachio* (1853) from *Much Ado About Nothing* were inspired by this interest. Darbyshire was so impressed by his work that in 1869 he engaged Marks to paint a Shakespearean frieze above the new proscenium and a similarly themed set of panels on the fronts of the dress and upper circles at the Prince's Theatre.[8] In 1877, the manager, Browne, died and his successor, John Hollingshead, was someone who, in Darbyshire's opinion 'knew not Joseph'.[9] With this, Darbyshire's professional interest in the Prince's Theatre ended.

While working on theatres, he had 'gradually arrived at the conclusion that the usual plan and construction of such buildings [theatres] were on the wrong lines as far as regards the safety of the audience in case of panic'.[10] Writing in 1907, Darbyshire provided further insights into his thinking:

> Like many other theatres, the Manchester Prince's was built in between other properties, with the only means of exit on the street facade for the public...Without forming, at the time I am speaking of, any definite ideas as to what should be done to avoid these unsatisfactory conditions, I was nevertheless convinced, that in the event of fire panic, the consequences would be fatal and disastrous.[11]

In 1878, Darbyshire was presented with an opportunity to implement his ideas when Irving engaged him to refurbish his Lyceum Theatre in London and to 'do everything possible with the existing building to ensure the safety of the audience and the artistes'.[12] The *Era* reported that 'Mr. Darbyshire…is the architect for the alterations, and the decorations are to be *à la* Prince's Theatre, a very high compliment to the late Mr. Browne'.[13] However, there is no evidence that Darbyshire applied any of his ideas for improving theatre safety here. The theatre's configuration remained unchanged – no new exits were installed nor were any staircases widened.

By 1881 there had been more than one thousand serious conflagrations in theatres worldwide along with innumerable smaller fires. Design deficiencies such as narrow exit doorways and steeply pitched stairs turned theatres into fire traps and ensured that the crush to escape killed more people than the smoke and flames. Jackson's *Victorian Theatre* provides us with a first-hand account of just how hazardous a visit to the gallery of even a modern, prestigious metropolitan theatre such as London's Theatre Royal in 1872 could be. Tickets were purchased through a hole in a wall in 'a long, low, vaulted passage, supplied with a very moderate amount of light'. Having reached the topmost row of the gallery after 'a long ascent and a steep ascent' our visitor noted 'How dark and gloomy is the house! How steep are the

benches!...How like a chasm it looks!' Obstacles which made reaching a seat difficult also made rapid egress in an emergency an impossibility: 'The presence of long-legged gentlemen…and of stout old ladies with huge baskets of provisions, renders his progress somewhat slow…'.[14] The practice of filling the aisles with moveable chairs when demand was high presented another obstacle. Under the 1843 Act, this tactic could be punished only with minor fines which did nothing to deter the practice.[15]

Gas lighting presented a myriad of hazards. In 1858, an inspection of the Bower Saloon in Lambeth noted that: '[t]he gas burners under the gallery roof must be made to project beyond the edge of the roof, as the flame from these now heats and chars the woodwork. Six gas burners in the entry are much too near the ceiling…and the flame might at any time ignite the paper and canvas of the passage'.[16] Even when correctly installed, gas lighting presented all manner of risks. While attempting to reach the top shifts of Edinburgh's Theatre Royal with a spirit torch at the end of a long pole, the gas man set fire to the backdrops which were 'so badly protected that, on several occasions, they had taken fire, although, in previous instances, the men had been able to extinguish the flames'.[17] Exposed gas jets at stage level were responsible for countless incidents. In 1860, at the Princess's Theatre in London, the dress of a dancer caught fire and another dancer died and the stage manager was severely injured in their efforts to extinguish the flames. Some theatres took steps to cover exposed gas jets, such as at Drury Lane where three hundred gas lights were covered by wire globes.[18] However, actors in their dressing rooms routinely removed these covers so that they could heat their curling tongs and warm their make-ups on them.[19]

The worst British theatre fire of the nineteenth century occurred on 5 September 1887 at the Theatre Royal in Exeter in which 186 were killed, but this total had already been exceeded by two fires in theatres outside Britain – three hundred had perished at the Brooklyn Theatre, New York in 1876 and 447 had died at the Ring Theatre, Vienna in 1881. This latter fire occurred just before the performance began with about 1,800 people in the audience with most of the fatalities occurring in the upper gallery. The opening of a large door at the rear of the stage made the fire more intense by admitting a blast of air which filled the auditorium with smoke, the iron fireproof curtain could only be lowered from the rigging loft which was inaccessible while the fire raged, exit doors were locked and the key to unlock them was rusty and so useless. Even if they could have been opened, there were too few exits and those that had been provided rapidly became choked with people trying to escape.[20] These fires, occurring while Darbyshire was engaged on theatre commissions, highlighted the areas which the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan would later address – the internal configuration of theatres, the quantity of exits, the separation of the stage from the auditorium, the avoidance of blockages on staircases and the use of fire-resistant materials.

Concerns about egress from theatres in case of emergency had been raised repeatedly. For example, Boucicault in 1867 bemoaned the fact that:

> The most painful feature of theatres in London and other large towns is the obvious and lamentable deficiency of egress. Though this point has been enforced again and again, still it has not sufficiently impressed itself on the minds of proprietors and architects, and we are afraid it never will until the legislature interferes, and make it penal to build a theatre that cannot empty itself in three or four minutes'.

Even such a prominent figure as Boucicault despaired of making any progress to improve the situation: 'If we saw any hope of touching the consciences, and, through their consciences, the actions of those interested, we would not call for more stringent enactments on this point. But we have almost lost all hope in the matter'.[21] He continued with an observation about the arrangement of exit doors and emphasised the lack of any agency taking responsibility for improving them:

> Would anyone imagine that the folding doors at the bottom of this entrance opened inwards, and not outwards? Had a rush taken place, with great pressure, as would have been the case if fire broke out when the theatre was full, the doors could only have been opened with great difficulty, and the stream of people that came or fell downstairs would be dammed up at the bottom. And yet these doors have been in this condition year after year, and no one considered it his duty to interfere and alter them.[22]

In 1876, Captain Eyre Massey Shaw, Chief Officer of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, published *Fires in Theatres* in which he suggested numerous changes to theatre architecture such as the construction of wide, unobstructed staircases, the isolating of theatres from other buildings, the use of fire curtains to separate the stage from the auditorium and the employment of non-combustible materials such as concrete for the floors, walls and ceilings. Unfortunately, his suggestions were not backed up by any effective legislation so adoption by theatre owners, in the absence of any legal or financial regulations to prompt them into action, was sporadic or non-existent. Until the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888, which transferred the responsibility to local councils, magistrates were responsible for granting licenses to places for the public performances of stage plays. Unfortunately, these

magistrates were ineffectually guided by a 'medley of laws' whose inadequacy posed 'a great and growing danger to the public'. Nor could the magistrates call upon a network of experts since 'we have no authority competent to deal with the inspection and passing of theatres, and no expert inspection to see that such buildings are properly maintained'.[23]

Into this situation of hopelessness, irresponsibility and intransigence entered Darbyshire who was the first to have the skills, experience and ambition to address these concerns in a holistic, pragmatic and practical manner. His first contribution was simply being a competent, qualified architect. This would seem to be an obvious and essential requirement for any theatre designer but, according to Walter Emden, '…the professional advice obtained from the architect may or may not be competent…the profession is in an irresponsible position, and no proper and compulsory examination is required before any man can call himself an architect'. Darbyshire also brought a theatrical perspective to his profession and Emden commented on the importance of this: '…the title of architect is no guarantee for proficiency on the part of those by whom it is assumed, and it must not be forgotten that theatre building is a speciality even among specialists'.[24]

One source suggests that Irving and Darbyshire 'came up with' their Safety Plan in 1884 but there is no evidence of this.[25] It is true that his Comedy Theatre which opened on 19 December 1884[26] used some ideas which were later included in their Safety Plan, for example Darbyshire's guidance that 'no seat should be placed higher than the proscenium opening', but no written plan from 1884 exists.[27] Nevertheless, Darbyshire's Comedy Theatre was the first in the world to take a holistic approach to fire safety in theatres, encompassing innovations in location, layout and materials. Darbyshire's great insights were first that fires

in theatres were inevitable, given that scenery and costumes had to be made of combustible materials (fire retardant materials not being available to him), so efforts should be concentrated instead on the rapid evacuation of everyone in the building, not just the audience, and second that, in the absence of local and national legislation, he should work collaboratively and constructively with local authorities when designing and constructing his theatres.

The Comedy Theatre was constructed of brick and was divided into three parts. The front section contained the entrances, exits, foyer and the retiring and refreshment rooms. The auditorium occupied the centre section while the stage and its equipment occupied the rear section. Every part of the theatre was provided with an exit staircase at the opposite side of the house from the entrance staircase leading directly onto Peter Street.[28] Moreover, to preserve the structural integrity of the stairs in the event of fire and to reduce the risk of crushing occurring on them, he specified that 'All public staircases are 5ft. (*1.52 m*) wide, 12in. (*0.3m*) tread and 6½in. (*0.15m*) rise ; they are constructed of solid concrete resting on iron supports, and without "winders" or other dangerous impediments'.[29] The exit doors were equipped with a mechanism familiar to twenty-first-century theatre audiences whereby 'a pressure from the inside would force them open in spite of the lock, so that in case of alarm there would be no need to stay to unfasten the bolts'.[30] Similarly the entrance doors were configured to prevent unauthorised access from outside and, once opened, would be bolted against the walls to prevent accidental closure. Not all the innovations were Darbyshire's own, however, since he and the theatre's manager, Edward Garcia, were willing to accept suggestions from others: '…in consequence of the suggestion of the magistrates, these [entrance] doors had also been constructed so that…the pressure of the people against them

would force them open'.[31] They also incorporated 'a suggestion with regard to a hand-rail down the centre of the pit, in case of that entrance being used as an exit'.[32]

The most innovative structural feature was the placing of the pit below ground level, enabling occupants of the dress circle to enter the foyer on a level with the entrance which was itself raised just one step above the street so that 'the dress circle is level, or nearly level, with the streets, and the highest point at which any portion of the audience is placed is twenty-three feet from the street…The descent to the pit is achieved by inclines and steps, and an audience accepts the arrangement without demur'.[33] Darbyshire was especially concerned about enabling rapid escape from a building and he explained how these features contributed to this objective: '…in case of a stampede from panic, the chances of disaster to life are less to an ascending audience than to a descending one'.[34] He was also mindful of the path taken by smoke and fumes in a fire so he did not 'advocate the sinking of the whole theatre below street level…because the asphyxiating fumes can only find a way out by the staircases…and the ascending audience would run the risk of suffocation during their efforts to escape to the street levels'.[35] In contrast to the arrangements at Knowles's Theatre Royal, there is no mention of a large water tank being placed on the roof to feed fire hose points throughout the building. Darbyshire had decisively shifted the emphasis from firefighting to the use of fireproof construction techniques and the rapid evacuation of everyone in the theatre.

On 10 December 1884, Garcia appeared before the magistrates at the Manchester City Police Court to apply for a license for his Comedy Theatre. He stated that he was aware of 'the importance which the justices now always attached to having public buildings constructed in such a manner as to afford…the best possible and easiest methods of egress in cases of fire'.

Darbyshire had also collaborated with the appropriate authorities to ensure the requirements of the magistrates were satisfied: 'The architect, Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, had consulted with the city surveyor, Mr. Allison, and with Mr. Superintendent Tozer, of the Manchester Fire Brigade, and all the suggestions made by these two gentlemen had been carried out regardless of cost'.[36] Tozer confirmed that 'the applicant had adopted all the suggestions he had made for the prevention and extinction of fire at the theatre'.[37] J. S. Tanner, manager of the Royal English Opera Company of Covent Garden, which was to formally open the theatre on 22 December 1884, gave his opinion to the magistrates that 'he had seen a large number of theatres and places of public entertainment in all parts of the world, and in his opinion the new theatre was one of the best constructed houses he had ever seen'.[38] However, Darbyshire did not document his ideas and for a few years the Comedy Theatre itself was the only testament to them.

It was the fire at Exeter's Theatre Royal on 5 September 1887 that appears to have galvanised Darbyshire and Irving into documenting and publicising a plan. According to Darbyshire, it was at Irving's initiative that the plan was drafted: 'Sir Henry Irving was the first and only theatrical manager who seriously set himself the task of thinking out a solution of this problem….I was consulted on the possibility of expressing them on paper'.[39] The blending of the ideas of the two men and the crystalizing of these ideas into a plan took place during a night-time conversation, as Darbyshire recalled:

> It was about midnight when Sir Henry commenced unfolding his scheme, which curiously enough agreed with my own in many particulars. I recollect when we had decided on the particulars of the plan, we were standing in front of one of the windows

> of the Queen's Hotel…an adjacent public clock slowly told the hour of seven, the fire was gone, the morning chill was upon us, and we felt that it was bedtime.[40]

Their plan was not formally published in a learned journal for consumption by a few professionals nor was it protected by copyright, but it was instead made freely available to the public by being published in the *Daily Telegraph* for 29 October 1887. Despite Darbyshire pioneering most aspects of the plan three years earlier and being asked by Irving to formally draft the plan, the newspaper article was headed 'Plan of a "Safety Theatre" by Mr. Henry Irving'.[41] Darbyshire must have been happy to defer to his good friend, safe in the knowledge that the name of the great tragedian would lend greater authority to the plan and would better assist its uptake within theatrical circles. In the same way as Darbyshire made no money for his design for a Mancunian abattoir, so he was happy for the safety plan to be available at no cost. Irving also concurred with this approach: 'Now that the principle is found to be a sound one, I do not wish to make money by it; take it and utilise it for the protection and security of human life in theatres throughout the world'.[42]

The main principles of the plan were:

1. The structure shall be fireproof
2. Short and absolutely straight exits shall be provided
3. The mass of the audience shall be concentrated upon the ground floor
4. The fabric, which is to be only one storey high, shall be completely "detached", standing in its own grounds.

Although the plan had only been published in a single newspaper edition, it very quickly became the *de facto* standard for new theatres in Britain. The plan could not be fully

implemented when an isolated location was unavailable, for example the Theatre Royal in Stockport which opened on 4 June 1888 to a design by Frank Matcham. Rebuilt on the site of the People's Opera House which had burned down, the new theatre was hemmed in by buildings on either side, but aspects of the plan could still be incorporated. The stage was protected by an asbestos cloth curtain, while access to a pair of 'alarm balconies' on the front of the building was via 'a system of doors, which, under ordinary pressure, will remain closed, but when exposed to extraordinary force will yield and fly open'.[43]

Wherever the plan was implemented, it was not the result of legislative pressure, but a consequence of the practical and pragmatic nature of the plan which made it attractive to architects, builders and theatre managers. In fact, the provision in a theatre of the safety features recommended by the plan became a significant selling point and provided a competitive edge. For example, in the aftermath of the Exeter fire, the Comedy Theatre in Manchester advertised that the theatre was 'without exception, the Safest Theatre in the Provinces, having a Fireproof wall and Curtain dividing the Auditorium from Stage, whilst Every Part of the House is provided with at least Two Exits, and was erected under the Supervision of the City Surveyor'.[44]

The decision to employ the plan in the design of the Shaftesbury Theatre in London must have been taken very soon after its publication as the foundation stone was laid on 2 February 1888, just four months after the plan had been made public. While there is no written evidence to confirm that the designer of the theatre, Charles Phipps, used the plan as the basis for the theatre, its construction adheres too closely to the five principles of the plan for its

conformance to be entirely coincidental. It is, therefore, reasonable to assert that this was the first theatre to employ the Safety Plan in its published form. According to the *Daily News*:

> The building is entirely isolated from surrounding property, and has entrances and exits in four thoroughfares – Shaftesbury Avenue, Nassau-street, Gerard-street, and Greek-street…The total number of doorways is eighteen, of which thirteen are for the use of the public and five for the members of the company engaged. Then again, the stage can be completely isolated from the rest of the building at a minute's notice by an iron curtain.[45]

Its staircases complied with the plan by being made of marble, a more expensive alternative to the concrete and Titancrete of Manchester's Comedy Theatre, while the construction of a single balcony over the pit was described as 'like all balconies nowadays', suggesting a recognition that this was already an accepted practice.[46] However, having a theatre standing alone surrounded by streets could have its disadvantages as one reviewer of the performance of *As You Like It* on the opening night on 20 October 1888 noted: 'London's latest theatre boasts that it is isolated. But even isolation has its inconveniences. In the middle of a most poetic passage the braying of what must have been a Salvation Army band filled the theatre, and disconcerted the performers'.[47]

An article describing the Royal English Opera House in London, construction of which commenced in 1888, stated that: 'The crux of the whole question of theatre planning is the suitability of the site; a perfect site is an isolated one'.[48] So by this date, the concept of a theatre standing entirely detached from other buildings had been widely accepted as the ideal.

The tiers, corridors, staircases, landings were all constructed of concrete. Rapid evacuation of the theatre was facilitated by an arrangement of staircases leading from every part of the theatre directly onto adjoining streets, further helped by the provision of separate entrance and exit staircases. The grand tier was entered from Cambridge Circus and had a separate exit staircase, the second circle entrance in Shaftesbury Avenue had a separate staircase and the two staircases to the amphitheatre and gallery on the topmost floor of the theatre were of ample width and opened directly onto Church Street and Shaftesbury Avenue.[49]

The rebuilt Theatre Royal in Exeter also adhered to the safety plan, which is not surprising given that Darbyshire was awarded the contract for its design, though only after some infighting. The head of the company which owned the theatre, Alderman W. Horton Ellis, had given 'deep study to the plan which Mr. Irving had conceived' and was 'determined to use all his influence to induce the directorate to assent to that scheme in preference to any other'.[50] Surprisingly, a rival plan was proposed by Charles Josiah Rose, a director of the theatre, who believed he had devised a theatre safety plan superior to Irving's. Several directors resigned in frustration as they could not persuade Rose to back down and eventually the board appealed to the shareholders to make their opinions known; they voted overwhelmingly in favour of Irving and Darbyshire's design.[51]

The new theatre was built on the site of the old one as this was the only isolated site in the city. As per the plan, each section of the theatre had one entrance and one exit and the main auditorium was sunk below ground level so that no seating was higher than eight feet above street level. Fireproofing was achieved by use of a Titancrete fire curtain which ran the full height of the stage and could be dropped in twenty seconds. The smoke generated by a fire on

the stage would be directed upwards into a concrete funnel. The floors of the pit and circle were also made of Titancrete and the stairways were constructed from solid concrete. To permit rapid exit from the building, eight exits were provided from the circle alone, and attached to each door was one of Kay's Patent Locks which prevented ingress but permitted egress on slight pressure.[52]

The theatre opened on 7 October 1889 with the D'Oyly Carte production of Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *The Yeoman of the Guard*. At the conclusion of the performance Darbyshire read a telegram from Irving congratulating him on the completion of the work and a tribute was also paid to Boyd, the representative of the Titancrete Company.[53] A local Exeter correspondent defended the new theatre against criticisms that the concrete floor made the audience's feet cold and that the entrances opening onto the streets caused draughts by stating that complete safety was the aim and referring to Darbyshire as '"Alfred the Great", in Brasenose-street, Cottonopolis'.[54]

The Safety Plan found its most complete implementation in Darbyshire's final theatre design, the Manchester Palace of Varieties, which opened on 18 May 1891 and is today known as the Palace Theatre. (illustrations 1.21-1.23) The *Manchester Guardian* described it as representing an 'entire revolution in planning of theatres, being based…principally upon the theory propounded by Mr. Henry Irving'.[55] According to the *Era*, whose journalists were invited to a private viewing before the theatre's opening, 'The principle of isolation is carried out in every detail. There is no opening of any description, except the stage opening, in the proscenium wall, and this opening can be closed by a fire and smoke-proof curtain'.[56] The

*Building News and Engineering Journal* of 24th January 1890 commented on its safety provisions:

> The staircases, corridors, and all portions of the house used by the public will be fireproof. The dressing-rooms and stage are so arranged that each portion can be detached in case of fire…The fireproof staircases, circle tiers, doors, partitions, and auditorium and stage ceilings will be executed by the Titancrete Co., with their patent fireproof materials.[57]

Not only did this theatre conform to the safety plan, but its design went beyond the recommendations with the inclusion of several innovative features. The joiners' shops, engines, dynamos and boilers were all located outside the building. Inside, there were no internal fire-places – all the dressing rooms and the auditorium being heated by hot water. The stage was roofed with Titancrete and a funnel was constructed in the centre to gather up all smoke and poisonous gases in case of fire. The dressing rooms were placed on either side of the stage and could be shut off by automatic Titancrete doors while the dressing-rooms in each wing had their own fire escape staircases. Stagehands were provided with similar facilities while the stage itself had two fire exits direct to the streets.[58]

For something as influential as the Safety Plan, its absence from legal and professional publications is striking while its documentary history is problematic as it was never published by Darbyshire or Irving under their own names. After its first appearance, the plan was next described in a lecture which Darbyshire gave entitled *Secular Architecture* at the Manchester Reference Library on 13 January 1890, but the content of this lecture was not reproduced in

print until the publication of Darbyshire's *An Architect's Experiences* in 1897. Its third public appearance was at the Victorian Era Exhibition held at Earls Court in London in August 1897. In one section there was a collection of drawings of theatre buildings and music halls designed by the architectural practice of Darbyshire and Smith, including an exposition of Irving's "Safety Theatre" plan. The *Era* for 28 October 1897 described in detail the main principles of the plan which had undergone some refinement since the plan's first public appearance in 1887:

1. isolated site
2. division of auditorium from back of house
3. minimum height above street level for any part of the audience
4. provision of two separate exits to every section of the audience
5. improved construction of the stage with smoke flue
6. fire-resisting construction throughout.[59]

In 1898, the plan was described for the first time in an official document. Published by the British Fire Prevention Committee as number four of a series and entitled *Theatre Exits – A Paper by Alfred Darbyshire with a Description and Plan of Sir Henry Irving's "Safety Theatre"*, the paper consisted of an introduction by the series editor, Edwin Sachs, the history of the plan, the thinking behind it and finally a list of its principles as described by Irving himself. These principles were the same as those at the 1897 exhibition so, by 1898, the plan had achieved its final, stable state.

In this closing section I describe how Irving's own response to the plan which bore his name was both surprising and ultimately injurious to his Lyceum theatre. The Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment which sat from March to May 1892 made numerous suggestions to improve fire safety in theatres.[60] In response to this, the London County Council added a regulation to its fire code for new theatre buildings requiring the installation of fire-resistant curtains to separate the stage from the auditorium. Older theatres, such as the Lyceum, which had been rebuilt in 1830 after a fire had destroyed it, were not required to comply with the new regulations but, as one of the prime movers behind the safety plan, one might have expected Irving to have installed such a curtain anyway. Roller curtains were devised at a time when the loft area above the stage was not high enough to permit the curtain to be lifted out of sight. Irving's Lyceum dated from 1834 when the gridiron was forty-seven feet [14.3 metres] above the stage. In 1885, Irving had it raised to sixty-eight feet [20.7 metres] to allow for the larger painted drops that were vital to his pictorial scenic effects. This would have been the ideal time to install a newer type of curtain, as Darbyshire had done the previous year in the Comedy Theatre in Manchester. However, Irving chose to retain the existing roller curtain for purely artistic reasons.[61]

Its retention is all the more extraordinary when one realises that Irving also resisted a move away from gas and lime lighting, while all around him electrical lighting was being introduced. One commentator described the artistic effects which Irving apparently wished to preserve by retaining both the roller curtain and the existing lighting: 'The curtain rolled up. First, we saw the feet of the players, then their knees, then their faces, and, finally, the whole scene. The play was unveiled. But a veil of a sort remained, rising from the fumes of the footlights, a trembling, transparent curtain between us and the players, who thus, although

they were near and actual, seemed remote and mysterious...Many hard things were to be said of those gas footlights in the future, but they were important in the creation of the stage's mystery'.[62]

In 1902, the London County Council embarked on a programme of rigorous inspections of theatres and of strengthening the regulations, mandating the improvement of all theatres, whether new or old. The Lyceum Syndicate, the consortium of investors who had assumed control of Irving's theatre in 1898, had lost so much money that it was unable to make the necessary improvements which would have cost approximately £20,000. Its capital had been exhausted, its shares were worthless, and it was forced to call in the Receiver. So, in a supremely ironic twist, the theatre most closely associated with Irving's name was forced to close its doors as it could not satisfy the regulations he himself had inspired.[63]

## CHAPTER 7 – MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE AFTER CALVERT

In this chapter I describe Manchester's engagement with Shakespeare after Calvert's death by describing the activities of the Independent Theatre Society, examining Louis Calvert's collaborations with that society and with Richard Flanagan. I then discuss the city's engagement with Shakespeare through advertising and recreational associations before concluding with an assessment of the state of Shakespearean theatre in the city at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Following 'weeks of alternate hope and despair' and 'periods of nervous prostration, a weariness for life, and a craving for release', Calvert died on 12 June 1879.[1] His funeral was arranged for 18 June 1879 at Brooklands cemetery in the south-western suburbs of Manchester. The cortège commenced from London Road (now Piccadilly) railway station and continued along Mosley Street, Oxford Street, Stretford Road (the present day A56) to the cemetery, passing the Theatre Royal and Prince's Theatre, scenes of his greatest triumphs.[2] Outside the latter 'the throng was so dense that the vehicles had just room and no more to pass'. In the city centre, people turned out in vast numbers to pay their respects: 'Not merely the streets were thronged, but all the windows and every available coign of vantage on the route until Old Trafford was reached had their army of sightseers'.[3] An estimated 50,000 people lined the route[4] and many people travelled by train to Brooklands station so that when the cortège approached the cemetery, 'quite a host of faces encountered it from every elevation that the nature of the ground afforded'.[5]

What happened to the theatre in Manchester after Calvert's death? If Darbyshire is to be believed, then decline was the result: 'The decadence of the Manchester stage, after the

removal of Charles Calvert, lasted many years, and the prestige obtained by the only provincial city of the Empire, for the maintenance of the highest art of the Stage in the latter half of the Victorian Era, seemed to the lovers of the theatrical art, to be entirely lost'.[6]

James Ackerley, a poet living in Urmston who had a handful of his works published in the local press between 1888 and 1893, lamented the apparent decline of the Shakespearean theatre, believing that tastes had changed:

> Hamlet's soliloquies are thought too long,
> The whole construction of the play is wrong,
> It makes the people weary ere 'tis o'er
> And in the end vote Shakespeare a bore.

The result was a perceptible decline in attendances:

> Where would a Kemble now as Brutus be?
> A beggarly array of empty chairs he'd see.

Although nowhere in the 184 lines of his poem does he mention Calvert, Ackerley nevertheless encouraged a return to the spectacle which characterised his revivals to reverse the trend:

> Blow follows blow until they lie dead –
> In life they shared, in death they shared one bed.

This would be something like and houses fill,

Success depends on how much blood you spill.[7]

But even a crude analysis of the quantity of performances of Shakespeare's plays reveals that local demand for them remained undiminished, there being 378 performances between January 1860 and June 1879 and 500 performances between July 1879 and January 1901.[8] In addition, according to Foulkes, at the end of the nineteenth century, 'Manchester still enjoyed the position of provincial pre-eminence which Charles Calvert had achieved'.[9] If Shakespeare's plays remained so popular, what had changed? Until the collaborations of Louis Calvert and Richard Flanagan in the 1890s, what had been lost were the flair for the spectacular, the desire to employ the best scenery painters, to purchase the highest quality properties, to achieve the highest possible historical accuracy and any ambition to market the plays as productions which could be sold overseas. Perhaps Calvert's achievements were so great that any further development of his business model was impossible given the size of the theatres and other financial constraints.

In October and November 1883 the Theatre Royal staged *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *Macbeth* and *Othello*. However, all were for one or two nights – gone were the long runs that the city enjoyed under Calvert.[10] Reviews lacked their previous enthusiasm. *Richard III* of 3 October 1886 was described as 'on the whole very satisfactory'.[11] On 28 May 1888, Frank Benson commenced a week's engagement at the Prince's Theatre with his Shakespearean company. Six different plays were performed, illustrating the shift away from long runs of a single play, and the programme was described coldly as 'a Shakespeare education of no mean proportions'. The engagement opened with *Hamlet* and the review was polite but showed

none of the wholehearted admiration which would have accompanied a Calvert revival: 'Mr. Benson's Hamlet has many good points ; and it has some weak ones'. [12] George Tearle's production of *Richard III* at the Queen's Theatre on 8 November 1891 even regressed to using Cibber's version of the play, Calvert's acting edition being rejected as it had been in New York twenty-five years before. The behaviour of the audience also regressed: 'The theatre was crowded in every part' but 'the restless occupants of the gallery made so much noise that a great deal of the part could not be heard'.[13]

On this evidence, Calvert's death seemed to have precipitated the same decline as Phelps's death had at his Sadler's Wells theatre. Davis and Emeljanow have argued that, '[T]he managers who followed Phelps subscribed to a belief that they could preserve this golden age merely by replicating Phelps's repertoire'[14] In so doing, in McCourt's view, they 'merely caused stasis'.[15] However, Manchester and its theatres had not permanently lost their radical and innovative instincts and so avoided stasis. On 7 February 1893, an article announced that 'An Independent Theatre Society has been formed in London, and several Manchester gentlemen have made arrangements to co-operate with it for the purpose of bringing similar performances before the Manchester public. No doubt other large provincial centres will adopt the same course'.[16] Jacob Grein had founded this society in London in 1891 to showcase the emerging talents of the continental European theatre and to develop native English writers. Like the Théâtre Libre, his aim was for it to become an uncommercial theatre which would perform unlicensable plays that other theatres had rejected and in ways that other theatres did not care to attempt. In this sense it was an alternative to the theatrical establishment while Manchester's branch of the Independent Theatre Society was especially

significant as it was, despite the prediction above, destined to become the only provincial branch of the society.

For the first time in its history, the Lord Chamberlain's office was confronted by an undesirable and potentially seditious theatre organisation that fell between all the legislative cracks. The first production of the London branch was Henrik Ibsen's *Ghosts*, a story of venereal disease and sexual relations. Yet it was not the play itself but the way in which the Society sought to circumvent the established actor-manager hierarchy and the Lord Chamberlain's office that caused unease. Knowing that *Ghosts* would not receive a license, the Independent Theatre Society did not bother to submit it to the Lord Chamberlain, thus denying him the pleasure of refusing it. Five days later the *Illustrated London News* commented that: 'They all of them – men and women alike, Ibsenites and socialists – know that they are doing not only a nasty but an illegal thing. It was open to the Lord Chamberlain to interfere, but he wisely left them all alone to wallow in "Ghosts" and to break the law'.[17] Theatre critic Clement Scott noted the society's sleight of hand: 'In all my experience of the stage…I have seldom known a "cheekier" move than the opening of the Royalty Theatre…with a play that has not passed the censorship, and that play none other than the revolting "Ghosts" of the Scandinavian Ibsen'.[18]

However, the offence caused was, in Davis's opinion, 'particularly odious because it occurred through the theatrical medium'. The themes within *Ghosts* were familiar to Victorians but 'their presence in an instrument of mass culture was potentially revolutionary' and 'conjured up fears of public disorder and political catastrophe', particularly as the Lord Chamberlain had not intervened to allay these fears.[19] Any town or city which set up its own

branch of the Independent Theatre Society would risk reputational, legal and financial damage. Manchester, fearless supporter of radical causes but equally a supporter of the spectacular, historically accurate, inoffensive and educational Shakespeare revivals, did just that. The society's initial production of *Ghosts* in London did not take place secretively but instead 'was accompanied by a media blitz… and was witnessed by a packed audience of celebrities and up-and-coming literati…'.[20] Manchester's branch of the society took a similarly bold approach. On 4 February 1893, an advertisement appeared, nestling between two announcements for concerts. Under the heading 'The Independent Theatre Society – Founder and Director J. T. Grein' were listed its respectable and highly visible committee members – Charles Hughes, Charles Rowley, the socialist councillor of Ancoats and former chairman of the Manchester Art School, Edward Abbott Parry, Judge of Manchester County Court, and Alfred Darbyshire.[21]

Of these names, the most remarkable is that of Darbyshire – respectable architect, close friend of both Calvert and Irving, collaborator on Calvert's *Henry V* and expert on theatre safety. He had, however, exhibited a rebellious streak some fifteen years earlier. He had been born in to a Quaker family but was expelled from the religion for appearing on the stage at Calvert's memorial performance of *As You Like It* in 1879. Just as striking is the identity of the leading actor – Louis Calvert, the Calvert's third son. Beneath their names was the proud announcement that 'The First Performances ever given by the Independent Theatre Society outside London' were scheduled for 24 February 1893 of a new play by the Irish realist novelist George Moore, *The Strike at Arlingford*, set in County Durham.[22] This play dealt with Socialism and the struggle between labour and capital while attempting to present a realistic picture of a strike in a mining district. The hero is a labour leader and a Socialist

agitator and the hero is a lady of title and the mine's owner. How the hero is for a time swayed between love and principles is the main motif of the play.[23]

There were two major impediments to the society's objective of staging uncommercial theatre in Manchester – the existence of censorship applied by the Lord Chamberlain and the unwillingness of actor-managers of the commercial theatres to risk their profits by staging an unusual repertoire. To circumvent these obstacles, the society did not take money at the door but instead sold tickets to subscribers via agencies, for example through Forsyth's music shop on Deansgate which also sold tickets for Hallé's thoroughly respectable concerts at the Free Trade Hall.[24] The society circumvented the censorship and licensing arrangements by producing the play in the Gentlemen's Concert Hall on Peter Street rather than in a theatre. This venue lay between the Prince's Theatre and the Theatre Royal on the site of the present-day Midland Hotel and a short walk from the Athenæum so the Society had selected the ideal location from which to launch a highly visible challenge to the theatrical establishment.

This decision was all the more effective because, as Davis points out, the Society challenged the commercial theatre '[a]t the exact moment that the Victorian theatre seemed to represent the epitome of decorum on the outside and a smooth running infrastructure on the inside.[25] If the society was making such a visible challenge to the theatrical *status quo*, why was Manchester and its supporters of commercial theatre such as Darbyshire so supportive of it? Bullock gives one reason: 'Even before the Ibsen cult of the turn of the century, British theatre was remarkably receptive to foreign influences, even if this receptivity has tended to be seen as fundamentally derivative as opposed to self-consciously cosmopolitan'.[26] This applied also but not exclusively to Manchester. The city was home to a large contingent of

Germans living in Victoria Park, Calvert had employed French drama as prototypes for his revivals and other cultural influences such as Aldridge and Hallé had provided precedents for the acceptance of international theatrical and musical concepts.

Moreover, independent theatre provided women with a greater range of acting roles and this would have been welcomed especially in a city where the activities of Becker, Grindon and the Suffragette movement were already well established. As Bullock states, 'Women could use the space of independent theatre to establish a reputation and a voice for themselves (as in the case of Janet Achurch, who played Nora in the British premiere of *A Doll's House*), and thereby challenge the dominance of male actor-managers in the commercial theatre'. Ibsen's plays provided an ideal vehicle for furthering these aims with 'their strong parts for female leads, and their recurrent theme of female self-realization'.[27]

Despite garnering support from a variety of social groups, the society aroused diverse opinions in the press, even amongst contributors to the same paper. Of Manchester's initiative, a London correspondent reported that 'In spite of ridicule and opposition, the Independent Theatre Society have established their claim to be taken seriously'.[28] The following day the same reporter displayed his support for the performance of the play in London describing it as 'a thoughtful and interesting piece of work, showing a great deal of originality and power'.[29] Another reviewer, also claiming to be a London correspondent, in the same journal the next day provided an entirely different perspective, claiming that the play was 'crude, lacking in dramatic quality; pretentious, but hollow and highly unsatisfactory'. Of the society's supporters, one reviewer had this to say: 'It may be that there

are people…who would readily support anything, however fantastic, ill-devised and absurd, if only it is heralded with a haughty display of superiority'.[30]

Even if opinion in London periodicals was divided, the Manchester branch proceeded confidently. The costs of producing *The Strike at Arlingford* were entirely covered by receipts and Grein himself was 'already assured of substantial support in his scheme'.[31] He was keen to protect the Manchester branch and to encourage the establishment of further branches, so he arranged for it to have an advantage over its London counterpart 'inasmuch as they need only produce the plays that have been successfully tried in the metropolis. Manchester, therefore, never sees any of the "Independent" pieces whose worth or interest has not been established'.[32]

On 14 October 1893, an advertisement for the Independent Theatre Society's programme of productions contained a name familiar to Mancunian audiences – Louis Calvert. Acting as a link between his late father's commercial theatre and this radical uncommercial enterprise, Calvert was important to the society's attempts to gain respectability and to win over a larger audience.[33] Opening on 18 October 1893 with Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*, which had never been performed in the city before, *Love's Labour's Lost* was performed on the following evening, the first time this had been produced in Manchester in fifty years. *Love's Labour's Lost* attracted a large audience and despite some difficulties, chiefly the lack of stage room, the performance was 'full of merit', the reviewer asserting that 'Manchester is much indebted to the enterprise of the company for this departure in our theatrical entertainments'.[34] This play also resonated either deliberately or coincidentally with a city supportive of women's rights, given that Shakespeare's intention was to teach that 'the lesson of common sense and human

nature will always remain, and the war of the sexes – towards which "emancipated" woman is again attracting us – will always remain'.[35] After the performance of Robert Browning's *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* on 21 October 1893, the chairman of the committee of the Independent Theatre, Charles Hughes, announced that all three performances had been successful and that *Rosmersholm* had taken £6 more than the Shakespeare play.[36] Although ostensibly an uncommercial theatre, the society nevertheless managed its finances astutely. On 28 October 1893, the society placed an advertisement encouraging prospective audience members to send their name and address to Forsyth Brothers' music shop on Deansgate to receive advance notification of forthcoming performances before public announcements were made. This represents an early example of a mailing list being employed to retain existing members and to encourage new recruits by providing preferential treatment. (Incidentally, from this date onwards, the Manchester branch of the society was known simply as the Independent Theatre.)[37]

The Society's next Shakespearean production was *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* performed on 2 November 1894 at the Gentlemen's Concert Hall and employing Calvert's company.[38] One review confirmed that 'In order to comply as nearly as possible with the simple requirements of Shakespere's time the comedy was presented without the usual aid of scenery'. Despite the inference here that the lack of scenery was an artistic choice, the constraints of the Gentlemen's Concert Hall which lacked the equipment necessary for a conventional theatrical production forced a return to the way in which Shakespeare's plays had been originally performed – without scenery. To a Mancunian audience accustomed to historical accuracy and spectacle, this lack of scenery would seem to be a recipe for disaster, but Manchester embraced this experimental approach: 'There was a large audience, and the

promoters of the performance would have no reason to regret their resolve to give representations of plays of historic interest'. The cast included Calvert as Valentine who 'gave a true and scholarly pourtrayal [*sic*]'.[39]

An advertisement dated 13 February 1895 for the Society's production of *Richard II* to be performed six days later made much of the fact that the production was to be 'played without scenery, as in the successful revival of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona"'. Calvert was named again, but his group of actors was now described as his 'Shakespearean Company', another example of Shakespeare's name being employed to form a connection with intellectuality and elite culture. The advertisement also claimed that *Richard II* had not been performed in Manchester since Kean's production in 1867 while the production of Johann Goethe's *Clavigo* scheduled for 22 February 1895 was to employ an English translation specially made for this occasion by the Manchester Goethe Society.[40]

One review had interesting comments to make about the lack of scenery: 'One peculiar feature of Tuesday evening's performance was the absence of scenery thus…"reproducing to some extent the conditions of the Elizabethan age."' However, 'the close attention given by the large audience showed that the substitution of a card bearing on it the name of the scene, for the scene itself, was not hurtful to the performance'. In fact, the absence of scenery was regarded as a particular advantage to this play. The long speeches could be closely followed without 'the eye wandering over an expanse of painted canvas' and that for this play 'it is an absolute necessity that the performers should have undivided attention if the audience are to follow and appreciate the spirit and philosophy of the work'.[41]

This was the Society's final Shakespeare production in Manchester and it is significant that although the Independent Theatre had originated in London and had performed 28 plays in 21 productions there, it was only the Manchester branch of the society that produced any plays by Shakespeare.[42] The committee may have desired to give the Society a veneer of respectability, having seen the criticism in the London papers, or perhaps there was a desire to experiment and to assess the reaction to a 'reduced' Shakespeare of an audience more accustomed to spectacle and historical accuracy. After its final production – George Bernard Shaw's comedy *Candida* on 14 March 1898 – the Manchester branch of the Independent Theatre disappeared, its demise brought about not by unpopularity or by censorship but by the closure of the Gentlemen's Concert Hall prior to its demolition to make way for the Midland Hotel.[43] It is possible that other venues in the Manchester city area were available but none were able bring the Society to public notice as effectively as the one located in the midst of respectable, commercial theatres.[44]

This reduced performance style did not supplant the spectacular and the historically accurate. Manchester was able to accommodate both approaches with equal success. In fact, Calvert's most enduring involvement with Manchester was with non-radical, conventional theatre. In 1893, even while being involved with the Independent Theatre, he assisted in Benson's production of *Julius Caesar* which harked back to Charles Calvert's approach. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema designed 'new and elaborate scenery' while the crowd scene at the Forum presented a 'lively, active, excited body of citizens'. Of Calvert, the reviewer's opinion was that 'considerable lustre was given to Mr. Benson's otherwise capable company'.[45] In 1896, again while still involved with the Independent Theatre, Calvert supported Flanagan, the manager of the Queen's Theatre, who had announced his intention to produce a series of

Shakespeare revivals with accurate and sumptuous scenery. Flanagan had the advantage of being one of Calvert's assistants at the Prince's Theatre and, according to Darbyshire, 'was thoroughly imbued with the *raison d'être* of what had been achieved, and resolved to take the risk of running a theatre on the same lines'.[46]

Flanagan strove to achieve spectacle and historical accuracy and Darbyshire, despite sitting on the committee of the Independent Theatre, was in full support of his aspirations. Recalling Calvert's *Henry V*, he wrote that 'They are also of educational value, as in the instance of the Agincourt Tableau…which was a complete, perfect and artistic exposition; in fact, a living military picture of the early years of the fifteenth century'. Calvert's company appeared under Flanagan's management at the Queen's Theatre on 3 February 1896 in the rarely performed *2 Henry IV*. In Darbyshire's opinion, this production was the 'result of the knowledge and superintendence of Louis Calvert, the worthy son of a worthy sire'.[47] He was also helped by the manager's willingness to invest in the production: 'Mr. Flanagan has assisted the company by liberal expenditure in the matter of scenery, and his enterprise deserves the heartiest support from the public'.[48]

Calvert and Flanagan's approach was derivative rather than innovative. A review of the performance of 17 February 1896 describes the introduction part way through the run of a typical Calvert technique – the tableau: 'With every desire on the part of the management to present the play with a complete picturesque setting, a new tableau was last evening introduced which, while admirably depicting the victorious army, gave an appropriate finish to the Battle of Shrewsbury'.[49] Although derivative, the production provided an opportunity for Calvert to replicate in some measure his father's achievements in exporting productions

from Manchester. Herbert Beerbohm Tree, manager of London's Haymarket Theatre, his wife Helen and Lewis Waller, manager of Shaftesbury Theatre in London were in the audience on 19 February 1896 and were so impressed that they opened negotiations with Calvert to 'transfer his admirable production to the Haymarket Theatre, London, for a series of matinees'.[50] As with his father, Manchester was responsible for launching his national and international career as an actor-manager.

Calvert was also involved in Flanagan's next revival – *Antony and Cleopatra* – which opened on 16 February 1897, an advertisement for which gave the two men equal billing, describing it as 'Messrs. Louis Calvert and Richard Flanagan's Second Shaksperian Season'. Members of Calvert's company who appeared for the Independent Theatre also appeared in this production – Achurch as Cleopatra and William Mollison as Domitius Enobarbus.[51] Calvert employed his father's acting edition with a few changes, the most significant being the insertion of a tableau depicting the sea battle at Actium and the excision of several of Cleopatra's speeches in the final scene in which she praises the dead Antony.[52] Again, this production attracted the attention of the manager of a London theatre, on this occasion Ben Greet, manager of the recently rebuilt Olympic Theatre, who was presenting a series of Shakespeare plays that season. Greet invited Calvert and Achurch to bring their production to his theatre where it ran for a total of ten performances between 24 May and 5 June 1897.[53]

By 1898, Shakespeare's plays were an established part of Manchester's cultural life but their productions were no longer dominated by a single actor-manager whose revivals enjoyed lengthy runs. Instead, the repertoire was fragmented, scattered across several theatres and produced by a variety of companies. Despite this, thanks to the involvement of Calvert and

Flanagan who continued the tradition of financially viable theatre with a unity of approach, it was still possible for Manchester to attract stars such as Irving and Terry. In fact, the list of companies visiting Manchester in 1898 is a roll call of the great touring companies in England. The local press published a summary of Shakespearean performances for the year and commented that 'The most striking feature of the local dramatic year has been the large number of Shakespearean performances. In the course of twelve months, eleven of Shakespeare's plays have been produced on the Manchester stage, each, of course, repeated many times'.[54] In 1899, a reporter remarked that Shakespeare '…was far and away the most popular playwright of the year'.[55]

The Victorian era ended with Manchester's association with Shakespeare theatre in rude health. Written in January 1901, an article entitled *Manchester Theatres in 1900* opened with the view that 'Shakespeare has been the most popular dramatist in Manchester for many years, and in 1900 his vogue showed no diminution. Quite the contrary, for the year has seen something like forty Shakespearian performances in the city'. The correspondent concluded that 'Shakespeare, indeed has been the first and foremost dramatist of the year, the best of his brethren, ancient and modern, occupying in the public favour a very secondary place'.[56]

Shakespeare in non-theatrical contexts also thrived after the death of Charles Calvert. The fame of his revivals and the respectability given to the theatre by the productions of Shakespeare's plays encouraged all manner of citizens to adopt his name as a brand of choice. An examination of the local press after Calvert's first revival in 1864 shows Shakespeare becoming increasingly embedded in all aspects of Mancunian life and providing opportunities for everyone at every level of society to participate. This was a form of

Shakespeare mania, a response to the city's desire to employ Shakespeare to improve the city and its citizens, rather than an unquestioning bardolatry which generated souvenirs and trinkets. This trend continued after Calvert's death. Journalists embellished unrelated events by means of quotes and references from Shakespeare's plays. An account of the fourth annual lawn tennis association in 1883 informed the reader that 'Shakespeare refers to it [tennis] in one of his plays, and uses several technical terms of the game, showing that it was familiar during his day', the writer leaving it to the reader's curiosity to ascertain which play it was.[57] An article about winter evergreens includes a quote from *Richard II* – 'The baytrees in our country are withered'[58] – while for a children's column the same play is employed to describe the Tower of London as 'Julius Caesar's ill-erected tower'.[59] Falstaff is wheeled out to provide evidence of regional variations in bagpipes in an article which claimed that he 'speaks of the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe'[60] and Lear finds himself, in a letter to the editor promoting an Old Trafford soup kitchen, asking 'How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,/Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you/From seasons such as these?'[61] (3.4.27-29)

The commercial sphere was just as enthusiastic to associate itself with the Shakespeare brand. At the July 1883 Building Trades Exhibition, J. Doulton and Co. of Lambeth could bring Shakespeare into your home by means of their 'large oak mantelpiece, inlaid with panels illustrated with hand-painted scenes from Shakespeare'[62] while the Universal Furnishing Company advertised a sideboard 'finished with Minton tiles, each one representing Shakespeare's works'.[63] James Lowe, gentlemen's outfitters, advertised the Shakespeare turn-down collar,[64] the Clarence Hotel on Piccadilly was proud of the new grill fitted in its Shakespear Room,[65] Smith's Pianos adopted 'He is well paid that is well satisfied' from *The*

*Merchant of Venice* as their slogan.[66] Had Henry's troops procured timepieces from S. Goldstone, the company responsible for this deliberate misquotation from *1 Henry VI*, misfortune would not have befallen them: 'Improvident soldiers, had your watches been good,/This sudden mischief never could have fallen'.[67]

Although not a uniquely Mancunian phenomenon, these quotations and misquotations betray an assumption on the part of the advertisers that their readership had an awareness and working knowledge of Shakespeare and so would comprehend the sources of these quotes. Not only that, but the target audience did not consist exclusively of highly educated people but embraced the working and middle classes. For the Victorian reader, not having been exposed to quotations used in a variety of contexts such as radio, television, film and the internet, this widespread familiarity would most likely derive 'from a direct acquaintance with the play, read or seen, in a literary or adapted…form'.[68] According to Holderness, this use of Shakespeare as a celebrity endorser demonstrates two things, 'that Shakespeare is already part of the culture, albeit in this fragmented, dissipated form: and two, that we cannot contain Shakespearean quotation within circumscribed parameters of class, race, gender and power'.[69] Manchester after Calvert provides evidence of both these statements.

There was also a pervasive effect on local education at all levels. In 1876, of the junior boys entering themselves for the Oxford local examinations, 123 nominated an examination in Shakespeare which compared favourably with traditional subjects of history (161), geography (160), Latin (119) and Holy Scripture (67).[70] Based in the affluent suburb of Bowdon, the Highbury College and Kindergarten offered classes in Shakespeare[71] and in 1881 Owen's College, the nascent University of Manchester, established a Shakespeare Scholarship of £40

*per annum*.[72] In the same year the College for Women on Brunswick Street instituted an extra English language class devoted to *Coriolanus*. Held on Saturday at half-past-twelve (factories would have closed at noon), the ten-part course was an affordable £1. 1s. with a reduction of one-third for teachers.[73] New educational faculties were founded in the city such as the Dramatic Reform Society, established in 1877 with the aim of 'encouraging good plays and performances'. On 24 October 1883, the society awarded certificates and prizes for their Shakespearean examinations which had been open to all schools and institutions in Manchester and Salford, a most inclusive initiative which crossed gender, class and civic boundaries.[74] The poorest members of society could also receive an education in Shakespeare. At the Chorlton Union Workhouse in January 1885, recitations from three scenes of *Henry VIII* were performed. Fourteen characters were represented and all 'were dressed with a taste and skill and with a regard for historical accuracy which reflect the highest credit upon Mrs. Howell, the matron'. The children who acted the parts 'manifested an intelligent appreciation of the characters and of the situation, and won frequent applause from the visitors, who were present in large numbers'.[75]

Not everyone used this appetite for Shakespeare for honourable reasons, however. In 1880, John Simpson was arrested at Manchester Victoria station and charged with 'advertising for the purpose of inducing girls to come to Manchester for an immoral and fraudulent purpose'. His original plan to form a ballet troupe having been unsuccessful, he instead decided to 'give the young ladies lessons in Shakespearian readings'. In his rented flat were found 'a tattered edition of Shakespeare and a text book on Hamlet'. Bail was set at £10.[76] If on occasion, Manchester could not generate sufficient Shakespeare-related news items to satisfy demand, then stories from around Britain were imported. Some were humorous, such as the case of

William Hewson who justified the theft of a tablecloth from a refreshment room in Berwick-upon-Tweed by insisting he needed it to play the Ghost in *Hamlet*,[77] some were macabre, John Reed making a bequest of his head 'to be used as the skull of Yorick in *Hamlet*'.[78]

If viewed as a purely commercial exercise then the Mancunian press would have been satisfied with filling their pages with advertisements and reviews of every Shakespeare production in the city as a means of increasing its revenue. However, the press was not content to be a passive disseminator but instead it wished to take on the role of a guide employing Shakespeare's works for the development of the city, as advocated by Dawson four decades earlier. Henry Franks, a Manchester journalist and member of the Manchester Literary Club, commenting on their influence on the public, wrote that 'Newspapers today probably have more influence over the minds and conduct of men than all the other educational agencies put together'.[79] By the late nineteenth century, this influence was reinforced by a growing demand for newspapers and by the introduction of new technology for their production and distribution.[80]

Table 3 shows that the two main promoters of Shakespeare-related articles and advertisements were the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*. As the two papers with the largest circulations, it is not surprising that most references would be found within their pages, with both periodicals showing a substantial increase in the quantity of references between 1880 and 1909, the increase in the latter journal being very striking. (Such increases are not evident in Birmingham (table 4) or London (table 5)). This could simply reflect an increase in the frequency of publication or the number of pages in each periodical but both papers had been founded by men from different

religious backgrounds and with divergent political and social aspirations who would have willingly encouraged the use of Shakespearean references to further their causes.

John Edward Taylor, founder of the *Manchester Guardian*, was a Quaker who became a member of the Little Circle of social reformers, many of whom, such as the Potter family, were Unitarians. In 1821, the members of the Little Circle (with the exception of William Cowdroy, editor of the *Manchester Gazette*, whose politics the Circle considered insufficiently radical) raised £1,500 and established the *Manchester Guardian*, the prospectus for which announced that 'It will zealously enforce the principles of civil and religious Liberty; it will warmly advocate the cause of Reform; it will endeavour to assist in the diffusion of just principles of Political Economy'.[81] The *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* was founded in 1825 by Thomas Sowler, a conservative who opposed all forms of non-conformist religion, as a counterpoint to the reforms being advocated by the *Manchester Guardian*. As Shakespeare was concerned with neither religion nor politics, his works had the capacity to unify and what unified these papers was a common desire to obtain respectability and popularity by associating themselves with Shakespeare and by promoting the core principles to be found in his works – freedom, justice, equality, humanity. Therefore, they took every opportunity to insert his name into the consciousness of their readers not only in Manchester but also in those locations outside the city whose libraries and reading rooms made copies of their periodicals available.

One obstacle was the status of journalism. According to Willard Bleyer, journalism 'had established neither standards of admission nor a formulated code of ethics'.[82] This situation enhanced the appeal of the literary societies as they offered the status and respectability that

journalism lacked. These societies brought newspaper proprietors, managers and journalists into social contact with municipal representatives, businesspeople, judges, publishers and members of the wider artistic community, allowing them to develop their own literary interests in supportive and sympathetic environments at venues such as the Brasenose Club, the Athenæum and the Arts Club. For example, it was Ireland, the publisher and founder of the *Manchester Examiner*, who first invited Dawson to appear at the Athenæum in 1846.[83]

The Arts Club, founded in 1878, functioned both as a forum in which the realms of journalism and literature could interact and as a conduit through which Shakespeare's plays could guide the city's development. According to the introduction to the collection of Shakespearean addresses at the Arts Club published in 1912, 'The first Committee was selected to represent literature and journalism, art, the drama, and music' and consisted of the writer and biographer George Milner, J. R. Mitchell, newspaper editor and dialect expert John Howard Nodal and the Chartist Arthur O'Neill; of these, the most significant are Milner and Nodal.[84] In 1886, the Arts Club instituted an annual Shakespearean address and Milner delivered the inaugural lecture. Dawson's concept of the Civic Gospel, linking the Bible with Shakespeare, was alive and well in his address on *Shakespeare's Method of Work*. Milner commenced his address by comparing Shakespeare to the Bible then concluded his address not by commenting on Shakespeare's dramatic skills but by emphasising the moral messages within the plays and by explaining how those messages should be used as a guide. Fraser and Dawson, who had died ten years previously, would have approved. Starting his address, Milner asserted that 'The proof of greatness in a writer is to be found, more than in anything else, in the perennial powers to suggest thought – to evoke thought. This is, in fact, the final

test. The *Bible* and *Shakespeare* are the two Books which satisfy this test more fully than any others'.[85]

Nodal had been president of the Manchester Literary Club between 1873 and 1879 before helping establish the Arts Club itself. Having devoted most of his 1890 Shakespearean address on *The English Historical Plays* to their historical perspectives, characterisations and accuracy, Nodal concluded that the most important theme in them was a moral one: '…amidst a score of side-issues, the note which I find most insistently emphasised throughout is that retribution follows wrong-doing'.[86] His final words emphasised the need for correct behaviour in both the personal and governmental realms: 'And even in *King Henry the Eighth*…Wolsey's fall is a striking illustration of retributive justice for vices and the greed of ambition which corrupted the administration of the State for personal and private ends'.[87]

This network of theatre, literature, education and philanthropy came together in the Grand Shaksperean [*sic*] Bazaar held at St. James's Hall near the Prince's Theatre and Theatre Royal, for five days from 20 November 1894. Arranged by the Manchester, Salford and District Teachers' Association, it aimed to raise at least £3,000 for the Benevolent Orphanage and Orphan Funds of the National Union of Teachers. There were fourteen stalls, each of which represented a scene from a play (for example Dunsinane Castle from *Macbeth* and an Early English Inn from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*) and the stallholders wore costumes which represented characters from the plays. Throughout the five days, visitors were entertained by *tableaux vivants*, children's concerts and dramatic recitals. They could visit the refreshment room inspired by Shakespeare's house which was adorned by a curtain depicting

Holy Trinity church in Stratford-upon-Avon church with Anne Hathaway's cottage hanging over it.[88] In the tradition of Calvert employing the best scenic artists for his revivals, the scenes were the creation of George Bridges, a scenic artist from King's Lynn who 'carried out many large bazaars for religious, educational, and philanthropic societies in all parts of the United Kingdom, and always to the satisfaction of those employing him'.[89] The provision of a parcel office from where visitors could arrange for their purchases to be posted 'at a small charge for delivery' was an innovation making use of the ability for packages to be sent all over the country by rail from Manchester's main line stations. The production of a daily illustrated programme of the entertainments and the printing of items in them at short notice each day would be straightforward in a city with thriving printing and newspaper industries.[90] Admittance on the opening day before 6 p.m. was priced at 2s. 6d. but after 6 p.m. the price was reduced to 1s. which was the cost of attendance at any time on any of the following days. Alternatively, a season ticket could be purchased for 3s. 6d. This price structure shows a level of sophistication which we can observe at similar events today whereby demand on the opening day is managed by setting a higher price and is then smoothed out across the other days by setting a more affordable lower price.[91] This bazaar, while being chiefly a charitable enterprise, also aimed to be educational with all schools in Manchester and Salford being granted half a day's holiday to attend the opening ceremony at 2.30 p.m. The bazaar was successful in raising at least £3,000; £3,800 was the final sum declared.[92]

This network also led to the emergence of two organisations dedicated to the improvement of the theatre and its employees – the Actors' Association and the Manchester Dramatic Art Committee. The Actors' Association was established on the initiative of Benson and Robert Courtneidge, as confirmed in a letter to Irving.[93] A pamphlet distributed around local theatres

declared its two main aims, first 'to crush the infamies of bogus management' and second 'to enforce honest conduct on the part of its members', and listed a range of other issues it which to resolve such as insanitary dressing rooms, fire risks and managers who failed to pay salaries. It also aspired to establish an actors' orphanage and to enforce arbitration in disputes between members of the association.[94] Its inaugural meeting was held on 1 February 1891 and the association quickly gained respectability when Courtneidge met Irving in London on 12 February 1891 and 'won him over to the new movement'.[95] Its first general meeting was held at Irving's Lyceum on 29 April 1891 at which he was elected president. At the association's sixth annual meeting at the Lyceum in March 1895, Irving announced that membership stood at 1,063, an increase of 219 in the year and £267 had been given to members to alleviate hardships. The issue of bogus management was being addressed and 'the first crow had already been nailed to the barnyard door.'[96] The association lasted until 1929 when it merged with the Stage Guild to form the British Actors' Equity Association.[97]

Seven years later, a group of prominent Mancunians who had been active in theatrical and literary circles met on 16 February 1898 to form the Manchester Dramatic Art Committee – Sir William Bailey, Parry, Milner and Nodal, all members of the Athenæum, Charles Rowley, founder of the Ancoats Brotherhood, and Darbyshire. Their purpose was to form an association 'for the encouragement of the representation of Shakespeare's plays and the support of dramatic art worthy of a great city'. The guest speaker at the inaugural meeting was Benson who was well known for his Shakespearean productions in the city. His address on *The Relation of the Drama to Civic Life* discussed the desirability of creating an uncommercial theatre though on lines quite different from the Independent Theatre Company. Benson posed two questions: 'How can we readiest obtain deliverance from the intolerable

tyranny of the dividend? How could they enlighten the powers that be as to the limitations of limited liability companies in relation to matters of art?'. He also explained that he 'was merely voicing the wide-spread discontent at the purely financial system on which Manchester and other cities allowed their theatres to be managed.' He proposed that the committee could build a theatre or lease an existing one with the money raised from the state, the rates or private or public subscription. Darbyshire seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.[98]

The first evidence of the committee's involvement in theatre dates from 26 November 1898. The visit of Benson's company to Manchester that month was 'supported by a strong committee, including members of the Manchester Art Committee' and the plays (*Richard II*, *Coriolanus*, *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet* and *School for Scandal*) 'have been arranged…in conference with these gentlemen'. To pursue their aim of developing a municipal theatre, the committee had engaged Sachs to deliver a lecture on *The Management of Municipal and Endowed Theatres on the Continent* but 'owing to the illness of the Chairman, his Honour Judge Parry', it was postponed'.[99]

Unfortunately, the aims of the committee remained unfulfilled. One commentator ridiculed it: 'The success of "The Winter's Tale" is only bearing out what I have all along contended – that a worthy Shakesperean performance is not dependent in Cottonopolis for its success on the approval of any given body of amiable but pretentious noodles who care to dub themselves "Dramatic Art Committees" or the like'.[100] With this, all mention of the committee disappears from the periodicals save for one mention in a letter on the subject of Benson's productions on 6 December 1901 which asks 'Where are the members of the

Manchester Dramatic Art Committee and Shakesperean societies, who do not appear to be giving him their support?'[101]

Twenty-five years after Calvert's death, Manchester was employing Shakespeare in private and public spaces in inclusive ways for cultural, political and philanthropic purposes. In the next chapter I explain how these activities, although organised by an exclusively male network, contributed to making Manchester the perfect environment in which a woman from a Derbyshire village could make important original contributions to Shakespearean scholarship and create opportunities for women to engage in literary pursuits and could.

## CHAPTER 8 – ROSA GRINDON AND FEMINIST SHAKESPEARE

The ethos of free trade and free thought which developed in nineteenth-century Manchester extended not only to artisan access to culture but to women's access to culture and thereby to the public sphere. In this chapter I demonstrate how Grindon's influential activities in Manchester, in which a commitment to women's right to enjoy Shakespeare extended to a commitment to female suffrage, initially followed a tradition of female readers of Shakespeare establishing reading clubs, delivering lectures and writing articles. Then I argue that from 1899 her contributions were more original and ground-breaking – collaborations with Terry and Irving outside the confines of the literary club, the development of theatrical outreach events with Flanagan, the publication of scholarly works about neglected, less-regarded plays such as *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and involvement with national rather than local audiences as the first female speaker at the Shakespeare Festival in Stratford-upon-Avon. I also link Grindon's career with Kathleen Knox's 1895 description of the emergence of 'new women' who required the guidance of Shakespeare.

On 8 August 1893, Rosa Elverson married the botanist and author Leo Grindon at Christ Church, Manchester. There is no evidence that she had written about or lectured on Shakespeare before marrying him but perhaps she was encouraged by his 1833 work *The Shakspere Flora,* in which he asserted that the most important aim of his book was to strive 'with all our power to win over as many as we can of the rising generation to reverence for the poet himself'.[1]

A more influential figure may have been Dorothea Beale, educationalist, suffragist, Shakespeare scholar and, from 1856 until 1906, principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College

which Grindon attended around 1885. At my request, the college archivist, Rachel Roberts, completed a search for records relating to Grindon's admission but no such records were found. Although the exact circumstances of her admission are unknown, there is evidence to confirm her attendance at the College. The *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* for 1888 states that she passed the University of St. Andrews Degree (Division II) in Political Economy, Physiology and Botany.[2] The 1889 edition of the *Magazine* informs us that, after leaving College, she passed the University of St. Andrews Degree in English (Honours Division II), Botany (Honours Division II), Geology (Honours), Physiology (Pass Division I), Geography (Pass Division II) and was awarded the title of Lady Literate in Arts (LLA).[3]

Grindon's career came to share many aspects of Beale's achievements. Beale, like Grindon after her, was committed to improving educational opportunities for women – in 1869 she edited the *Reports Issued by the Schools' Inquiry Commission on the Education of Girls*, in which she argued that 'It cannot be seriously maintained that those studies which tend to make a man nobler or better, have the opposite effect on a woman'.[4] Among Grindon's other initiatives was her resurrection of the Manchester Ladies' Literary Club in 1896.

Beale was a supporter of the suffragist movement. In 1865, she joined with the writer and Emily Davies, the physician Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and eight other suffragists to form a discussion group called the Kensington Society. Two years later, the group drafted a petition asking Parliament to grant women the vote, but when this failed, members of the society formed the London Society for Women's Suffrage. Similar societies were formed in other large towns and cities and, following a period of consolidation, Beale eventually became vice-president of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage. Five months before her death,

Beale spoke at the Headmistress' Conference held on 8 and 9 June 1906 and expressed her support for the suffragists, arguing that '[t]he underpayment of women went to the heart of all as a crying evil, and made every one earnest about the extension of the suffrage'.[5] Grindon was less overtly a suffragist (though in the 1911 census she is described as a lecturer and suffragette) but was openly dedicated to furthering educational opportunities for women. Finally, Beale contributed to Shakesperean scholarship by publishing *King Lear: A Study* in 1881 which may have inspired Grindon's own scholarship, first displayed by her analysis of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in 1902.

When Grindon moved to Manchester in 1893, she found a city both receptive to and supportive of her ambitions, in part because organisations inaugurated by women devoted to social change were already well established there. The Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage had been established in January 1867[6], the Manchester Society of Women Painters in 1879[7] and the Women's Franchise League founded by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1889.[8] Moreover, some of the individuals involved in these organisations paved the way for Grindon in more specific ways. Frances Morrison was a pioneering public speaker and in July 1839 she addressed a meeting on New George Street in Shudehill. The *New Moral World* reported that 'the place was crowded to suffocation… She is the first female in Manchester who has had the nerve to come forward in practical advocacy of our views, and it is hoped that her example will operate as stimulus to others'.[9] The novelist Elizabeth Gaskell set a precedent for writers to participate in efforts towards social reform; her novels *Mary Barton* (1848) and *Ruth* (1853) tackled feminist themes such as challenging rigid gender roles and the ostracism of single mothers.

Closest to Grindon's love of literature and passion to achieve practical improvements in women's lives through education was Lydia Becker, who established the Manchester Ladies' Literary Club in 1867[10], a club which Grindon herself resurrected in 1896. Becker expressed her frustration at the lack of intellectual outlets for women in a letter to a family friend about her brother, Wilfred, who was to read science at Oxford: '…I have the conviction that had the same opportunities been placed within my reach ... I could have done as much, and might now have occupied an assured position in the world…instead of being obscure, and helpless, with my intellectual powers crippled…and a mind half-starved for want of things I could have learned for myself'[11] Grindon and Becker shared an interest in botany. Grindon, whose husband was a botanist, had studied this subject as part of her LLA and in 1864 Becker published *Botany for Novices*, a simplified description of the system of plant classification.[12] Also in 1864, Becker joined the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS). Membership helped her develop her intellect through the pursuit of scientific truth: 'By truth I do not mean any mysterious abstraction, but true assertions respecting matters of fact'.[13] She believed that the study of science was essential for women whose lives were 'monotonous and colourless' and liable to an enforced 'intellectual vacuity'.[14]

In 1865, Becker moved from rural Altham in Lancashire to Manchester. Like Grindon almost thirty years later, Becker believed Manchester could support her ambitions for self-improvement, but, although there were many scientific societies (including the oldest provincial society, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society) in the city, women were excluded from them. In response to this exclusion, Becker created the Manchester Ladies' Literary Club in 1867.

This club was a radical innovation, the first of its kind in Manchester, which challenged the prevailing assumption that a woman's education was preparation only for motherhood. Becker gave her inaugural address on 30 January 1867 at the Royal Manchester Institute, an organisation which evidently did not object to hosting meetings of this all-female club. She drew attention to the exclusion of women from scientific societies: 'these institutions have a deficiency…they draw an arbitrary line among scientific students and say to one half of the human race – you shall not enter into the advantages we have to offer'.[15] Unfortunately, this innovative club was short-lived. By 1868 the activities of the Manchester National Society fully occupied Becker and she withdrew from the Ladies' Literary Club. It was reconstituted under male patronage and members were offered a more restricted choice of programmes comprising a History of England (1815-1841) or a History of Science. Manchester had to wait until 1896 for Grindon to resurrect this society.[16]

By early 1896, almost three years after moving to the city, Grindon was not merely accompanying her husband to events in male-dominated locations but was assisting in their organisation, shaping their content and even introducing extracts from Shakespeare, albeit as entertainment at this stage. On 27 March 1896, Manchester City Art Gallery hosted an evening reception of the Manchester Field Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Society which had been founded in 1860 by Leo Grindon and Joseph Sidebotham, a partner in a calico printing company and amateur natural historian.[17] The president of the society, Charles Bailey, and the exclusively male members of its council welcomed the guests among whom were the Lord Mayor of Manchester, Alderman Abraham Evans Lloyd, and the Lady Mayoress, Mrs. Meek. Significantly, the reception had been organised by an all-female committee – 'Mrs. Leo. Grindon, Mrs. [Charlotte] Lund, and Miss Beatrice Smith' – while the Shakespearean

content was provided by a recitation from *Henry VIII* 2.4 and a pastorale from *Romeo and Juliet*.[18]

Grindon's next significant contribution to Mancunian society was her reestablishment of the Manchester Ladies' Literary Club in May 1896 and her appointment as its first president. Unlike Becker in 1865, Grindon had the advantage of a husband well-connected in scientific and civic circles. When the *Birkenhead Express* announced – with a sneer at Manchester's new maritime importance conferred upon it by the recently opened Manchester Ship Canal – that a new club had been formed, it should have stated that it was in fact a resurrection of Becker's club: 'There has just been formed in Manchester, that great Seaport, a Literary Club for women, of which the first president is Mrs. Leo Grindon, the vice-presidents being Mrs. Hyland, so well-known as a poor-law guardian and Mrs. Meek, the Lady Mayoress of Manchester'. Grindon had managed to exploit her connections in the city to persuade the Lady Mayoress of the desirability, even necessity, of a literary society for women. Membership was to be selective: 'No one can be admitted to membership unless she has occupied some responsible position, or has been engaged in educational, literary, or philanthropic work, so that the club should contain the *crême de la crême* [*sic*] of the intellect and of all that is interesting in the women of Manchester'. Despite this exclusivity there was 'a good roll of members, who include such diverse personalities as musicians, poetesses, …artists, journalists, doctors, school teachers, and lecturers. This latter class is, I believe, almost wholly composed of married women'.[19]

The presence of at least one journalist at the inaugural meeting demonstrates Grindon's success in promoting the club, seeking to avoid the decline in membership which occurred

during its first incarnation. The reporter from *The Gentlewoman* who attended the first meeting of the summer session in 1897 'on the invitation of the talented president (Mrs. Leo Grindon)' wrote that 'The president, as usual, was in her brightest and happiest vein in her opening address, interspersing her remarks with judicious and excellent advice to young and inexperienced essayists and literary aspirants'. Grindon was also keen to introduce frequent references to Shakespeare, and on this occasion a Miss Kate Beesley followed Grindon's address 'with two excerpts from Shakespeare – the woodland wooing of Rosalind by Orlando, and the famous scene between Ferdinand and Miranda'.[20]

Within the Literary Club, Grindon's most notable mobilisation of Shakespeare's plays occurred on 1 June 1898 when she gave 'a rousing address on woman's position and responsibilities'. She spoke of the increasing prominence of women in society and their destiny as its future leaders, 'for it is quite certain that upon women will devolve the conduct of affairs' and argued that 'woman as woman is not simply an aborted creature, "sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything"'. Instead, strikingly, she identified her sex as so many wronged Shylocks: woman 'was like a Jew, with eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, sense, affections, passions, fed with the same food, and hurt by the same weapons'. Grindon then continued with 'an impassioned quotation of nearly the whole of Shylock's speech'.[21]

This incident stands out especially, given that one member noted that 'Our president rarely gives a paper herself' and when she did it was usually at the first summer meeting to remind members of the 'methods or rather the kindly etiquette of the club'. For Grindon to deviate so drastically from this policy demonstrates that this meeting was the moment at which her ambitions towards women's rights were crystallised and, given the interest in his plays that

she and her husband had demonstrated, it is no surprise that she quoted exclusively from Shakespeare. For one meeting, the club became a conduit for her beliefs and not merely a polite gathering of literature enthusiasts. A correspondent signing herself 'Belle', understanding the significance of the moment, was at pains to record the rest of Grindon's speech *verbatim*. After quoting Shylock's speech, Grindon asserted in an equally impassioned manner that 'because man had seen himself superior in the world of matter, he jumped to the conclusion that he was also superior to in the world of mind…The progress of enlightenment of the nation depends not upon men but upon its women'.[22] Dawson had used the words of Shakespeare in exclusively male venues such as the Athenæum but now Grindon was doing the same in an exclusively female environment. Just as the Athenæum contained the *crème de la crème* of the male population, Grindon's audience now represented the female equivalent. The rest of the evening continued in a Shakespearean vein, being devoted to the less impassioned subject of the lives and sayings of children in Shakespeare. Bessie Dutton 'recited many charming passages in Shakespeare's less known plays, wherein the sayings of page boys afford relief and brightness to strained situations'.[23]

In Manchester, Grindon encountered receptive audiences, welcoming venues and a culture which, thanks partly to the activities of Dawson, Calvert and Fraser, would appreciate her references to Shakespeare. In Grindon, Manchester had found someone unencumbered by militancy or political ambition with the passion and ability to develop further educational and cultural opportunities for women. Her agenda was not narrowly focussed on universal suffrage, and hence her civic activities were able to range across a wide spectrum of interests, from attending a meeting at the Town Hall to discuss the Hulme Hall Day Nursery (at which she offered her opinion that 'it was a crying shame than in a city so celebrated for its support

of great philanthropic schemes, should be so indifferent to the lot of its working women mothers')[24] to acting as president of the Manchester and District Beekeepers' Association.[25] The extent of her contributions to civic life was recognised by her inclusion in *The Ladies of Manchester*, a work published in 1897 which consisted of interviews with the nine most prominent Mancunian ladies.[26]

The occasion of her husband's eightieth birthday in August 1898 provided an opportunity for a public recognition of the contributions she had made, the regard in which she was held and an explanation of her vision for Manchester. The Lady Mayoress described her impact on the city thus: 'Ever since Mr. Grindon brought you to Manchester you have been a power for good amongst us, and the improvement and betterment of your fellow-townswomen of all classes has been your constant aim, and your own love of knowledge and of all that is good and true and elevating, you have constantly striven to communicate to others'. She went on to describe the radical nature of Grindon's vision which did not envisage a series of minor, incremental improvements to women's lives but proposed nothing less than a 'new order' for everyone: 'Many Manchester women can testify to an influence and an inspiration of a new order received from you, and your efforts have not only been amongst the young'. The address continued by acknowledging that women of middle age who had already become accustomed to the old order had the potential, through education, to play both a domestic and a global role. For 'those in middle life' Grindon had stimulated 'cultivation of the mental side, showing that by self-cultivation and not self-abnegation, women can better minister to the world's needs, and yet keeping ever in view the indisputable fact that woman's sphere pre-eminently is the home'. It is notable that their domestic responsibilities are described as

pre-eminent rather than exclusive, admitting the possibility of engaging in fulfilling activities outside the home.[27]

The meetings of the Manchester Ladies' Literary Club were well attended and hosted in prestigious surroundings. The October 1898 meeting was held in the private apartment of the Lady Mayoress. However, the curriculum was not for the uncommitted and the subjects to be studied were intellectually challenging. For example, Grindon announced that the 'winter studies of the club would be chiefly devoted to Greek literature'.[28] Members were set homework and were expected to present their work at the next meeting: 'Various ladies gave short papers on the impressions of Homer, Greek literature and on Greece itself'.[29]

Grindon's first innovation was to expand the scope of the club's activities into the realm of the theatre. The 'At Home' with Irving and Ellen Terry held at the Town Hall on 5 October 1899 'originated with the desire of the president and members of the Ladies' Literary Club to present these distinguished visitors with an address of welcome during their visit to Manchester'. Although many of the audience were men, Grindon's address had a strongly Shakespearean and feminist tone: 'It is to Shakspere that we women are indebted for the highest ideals of womanhood. With the intuition of a woman and the power of the seer he realised her potentialities, and the creative artist bade them stand forth for our warning, example and inspiration'. Grindon moved on to praise Terry's portrayal of Shakespeare's women: 'To you, fair lady, we are indebted for the interpretation of the poet's lofty vision, the unfolding of the range of womanly character…and it is only when you show us Portia that we know what a woman could be to Shakspere'.[30]

The presence of these two great theatrical figures in this setting illustrates a shift in the relationship between women and the theatre in the 1890s. As Marshall suggests: 'The deaths of [Fanny] Kemble and [Helena] Faucit in 1893 and 1898 signal the generational shift being effected as actresses emerge out of the control of the actor-manager to put themselves centre stage, and thus to enter into fundamentally new relationships with Shakespeare'. Actors who were associated with the legitimate theatre could now be 'fully initiated into the possibilities of the radical Shakespeare whom other women had long been hearing and reading'.[31] Grindon's invitation to Terry and Irving was not merely to add their prestige to Manchester; their presence gave credibility to Grindon's own belief in Shakespeare as a means of guiding what Knox in 1895 had called the 'new women' of the Victorian era. Knox asserted that:

> in this age of feminine eagerness and prominence, when everything in life, literature and science is being attempted by women, and often – as must infallibly be the case at the beginning of every great movement – with woful [*sic*] lack of judgment, it will be well to have such a standard of sanity, moderation and harmony as is presented to us by Shakespeare's world…I would have every would be 'new woman'…lay to heart the lessons contained in King Lear, Hamlet, Macbeth and Julius Caesar.[32]

Grindon was a 'new woman' encouraging others to become 'new women' using Shakespeare as a guide and Irving's speech was also supportive of Grindon's 'new women' stance, it having a distinctly Shakespearean and feminist ring to it: 'Portia, the radiant and triumphant spirit of one of his greatest comedies, is made to show how superior woman's way is to man's in the practice of the law and the art of pleading in court. The Duke, Shylock, Bassanio, where are we all beside this incomparable advocate?' Irving emphasised the

growing influence of women in society by showing men sympathy, but with tongue firmly in cheek: 'Driven from other points of vantage by the rising tide of woman's independence, men seek refuge behind the majesty of Shakespeare, for…it has not yet been suggested that "The Merchant of Venice" was written by a woman'.[33]

Grindon was also content to invite prominent Manchester men who supported her views to the meeting. As Parry acknowledged, 'he did not know why he was entitled to speak that afternoon, because…he was not a member of the Ladies' Literary Club…They were however grateful to that body for the suggestion…of extending the hospitality of this great city of Manchester to the two foremost dramatic artists in England'.[34]

Grindon took Irving's half-serious words to heart and the following year she did indeed drive 'men from their point of vantage' when she invited Irving to address four hundred members and guests at the exclusively female Manchester Ladies' Literary Club one day before he was scheduled to speak at the predominantly male Arts Club in front of a mere seventy members.[35] The first meeting took place in the Memorial Hall on the afternoon of 31 October 1900 and, after the reception and tea, a symposium was held with the appropriately feminist theme of *Hamlet and Ophelia*.[36] Irving said that 'he felt a little diffident, for the audience was a much larger one than he had anticipated' and proceeded to provide an analysis of the 'nunnery' scene and the various ways it had been presented on stage.[37] Irving's analysis avoided any discussion of the feminist themes presented by the scene, wisely eschewing any controversy which might upset his audience at the Arts Club the next day. At the Arts Club, Irving gave a quite different address, concentrating instead on acknowledging the debt he owed to the city in supporting his early career then developing the theme of Shakespeare as a

moral guide at a time when the church disapproved of the drama. 'Shakespeare saw life in a bigger scale than any other dramatist…Where are you to put Falstaff in any scheme of moral teaching? The pulpit must treat him as an old reprobate, and yet Shakespeare has endeared him to mankind'.[38]

Grindon's involvement with figures such as Irving and Terry led her to her next innovation – theatrical outreach. At the meeting of the Ladies' Literary Club in October 1900, Grindon distributed copies of 'a decidedly pretty booklet which Mr. Flanagan has prepared descriptive of his intents and purposes, as well as the setting of the scenes for "The Merchant of Venice" – his production for the coming season'.[39] For the meeting in December 1900, Flanagan developed this connection and invited the members of the Club to 'a private and intimate inspection of his elaborate preparations for the revival of the "Merchant of Venice"'. The opening scene gave 'a graphic and living idea of the busy quay at Venice' and was, in the words of the correspondent, 'specially staged for us'. Flanagan arranged for the members of the club to view the wardrobe rooms where they 'feasted their eyes on…three hundred and twenty-five dresses in all'. Their attention was captured by the robes of Portia: 'The front of the skirts are painted in a fine, bold design, and the execution suggests embroidery in silk, so wondrously rich is the effect'. After viewing suits of armour, the theatrical properties and observing the wardrobe women 'still busy at work under Miss Smith's able superintendence', the group retired to the dress circle to listen to closing words from Grindon.[40]

Flanagan's choice of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for his 1902 revival was a bold one since financial success remained essential to the theatre and this play was not at the time regarded as one of Shakespeare's strongest or most popular plays. However, its representation of

women as strong characters would have resonated with the feminist sentiments abroad in Manchester, not just with the suffragette and suffragist factions but also with those who held broader aspirations for women in the educational and professional spheres, people like Grindon and the members of the literary club. The production was a critical success: 'That Mr. Flanagan's Shakespearean revivals at the Queen's Theatre have had a distinct educational and artistic value for the community there can be no doubt. In selecting the "Merry Wives" there was a fear in many quarters that the success which had followed more striking and better-known plays might be wanting. Experience has happily proved that such apprehensions were in vain'.[41] The production was a financial success as well: 'The success of "The Merchant of Venice" was interrupted by the death of Her Majesty the Queen, and a slight loss was incurred, which "The Merry Wives" cleared'.[42]

Grindon was initially opposed to the choice of play. In the preface to her essay *In Praise of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor* she confessed that she had 'accepted current opinion that "The Merry Wives" was a second or third rate play, I had given no serious study to it and when votes for the next revival were requested I voted against it myself and used what influence I could in favour of another play'.[43] While she does not explain the circumstances of the voting process, it demonstrates that she had been invited to be a member of the committee which selected the plays, or at least the revivals, at the Queen's Theatre and so was able to exercise some influence on the cultural direction of the city.

The choice of this play was the catalyst for Grindon to embark on her career as a Shakespearean scholar as she described thus: 'However, as soon as the die was cast, I decided to carefully examine the text for myself, and finding intense enjoyment in it, I venture to ask

fellow students to share it with me'.[44] Thompson and Roberts demonstrate that she was at this point in her career building on a tradition well established in other locations as women had been reading and lecturing on Shakespeare since the eighteenth century. For example, in 1736, the Shakespeare Ladies Club was founded to support the proposal for a monument to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey.[45]

The feminist writer, Frances Julia Wedgwood had, like Grindon, attended Cheltenham Ladies' College and moved to Manchester in 1856 to become secretary to Elizabeth Gaskell. Wedgwood's Shakespeare criticism was published in *The Contemporary Journal* which had a circulation of four thousand by 1870 and, in the following decade, adopted a more activist tone with essays on social reform and political liberalism.[46] Her writings on women and gender difference may have encouraged Grindon's engagement with the suffragist movement, since Wedgwood had promoted the 'enlargement of the sphere of Woman' and had declared that 'I question and criticize. I am not feminine, they say. Well, it is true for good as well as evil'.[47]

Wedgwood's article on *Julius Caesar* for *Contemporary Review* originated as a paper given at St. Andrew's Club for Women. In this article she points out that Shakespeare highlights Caesar's weaknesses rather than his supposed strengths: 'We are accustomed to clothe Shakespeare's Julius Caesar with heroic virtue…[But] Shakespeare seems to remember nothing of almost the greatest conqueror the world has ever seen except his weaknesses'.[48] This sentiment aligned with Grindon's own writings which challenged the status of characters in the plays and which presaged the representation of Caesar as an anxious and unheroic figure in Manchester Central Library's Shakespeare window, funded by a bequest from

Grindon's estate in 1934. Also part of this tradition was Beale who in 1881 published *King Lear: A Study* which would likely have been recommended reading for students at Cheltenham Ladies' College such as Grindon.[49] Raikes's biography of Beale demonstrates that there was some resistance in literary circles. In a letter to Beale dated 8th June 1887, John Ruskin wrote: 'Especially, I could not tell you anything of your paper on Lear, because I think women should never write on Shakespeare, or Homer, or Aeschylus, or Dante, or any of the greater powers in literature… And you really had missed much more in Lear than I should like to tell you'.[50]

Moreover, by the last decade of the Victorian era, as Katherine Scheil notes in *She Hath Been Reading,* '…the publication and reprinting of several nineteenth-century works of Shakespeare criticism, specifically Anna Jameson's *Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical and Historical* (1832; reprinted through the century), Mary Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1850-52) and Helena Faucit Martin's *On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters* (1885), established Shakespeare as acceptable subject matter for women's scholarly pursuits…'.[51] Clarke is a significant figure since, as the first female editor of an unabridged Complete Works, she 'partly enabled the sea change in Victorian women's Shakespeare criticism to take place by providing women with a precedent'.[52] Moreover, Clarke herself acknowledged that collaborating with male scholars on her *Concordance* had been 'the means of my receiving generous testimonies of sympathy and encouragement from many of the cleverest man of our age, between whom and myself I could never have hoped for any assimilation, had it not been for the mutual…love for the genius of Shakespeare'.[53]

However, Shaughnessy points us towards one significant difference between Clarke and Grindon: 'Clarke offers nothing to disrupt her society's notions of what women are or should be'.[54] Grindon, on the other hand, offered much to disrupt these notions. Additionally, unlike her predecessors, she was now engaged in the 'enormous variety of ways in which Victorian women read, quoted, responded to, argued with and countered Shakespeare in their work, conversations, letters, education and performances'.[55] Consequently, she could employ Shakespeare to support an independent career, not as an actor in the same way as Terry or Faucit, but as an educator, a suffragist and an author whose influence continued after the Victorian era.

Grindon did not employ her essays to promote an overtly feminist agenda beyond that inherent in claiming her place alongside male critics; rather she challenged preconceptions and misconceptions which had been promoted in the critical writings of her predominantly male predecessors. Her scholarship even at this early stage displayed perception, boldness, innovation with a little mischief added for good measure. The following observation on *The Merry Wives of Windsor* suggests something of her attitude, attributed to Shakespeare, that imagination crosses gender boundaries: '[it is] a woman's play, written for a woman, and emanating from a genius that knew as much of the womanhood of the world as he knew of its manhood'.[56] On Georg Gervinus's view that 'among all the plays of Shakespeare's riper period this is by far the least important',[57] Grindon commented that 'It may be to Gervinus, and to men of a similar German type, for they are short of the Celtic element, which is necessary to understand some aspects of Shakespeare's complex mind'.[58] We should not interpret this as anti-male position since almost all commentators on Shakespeare had been

men. Instead, we should see it as evidence of a confident, perceptive scholar whose reference to German men here seems more mischievous than malicious.

Her other observations demonstrate a bold approach to challenging entrenched opinions and a desire to open the reader's mind to what she saw as Shakespeare's original intentions: 'On reading the various criticisms on this play it is quite painful to notice how grievously the action of the Merry Wives of Windsor is misunderstood. None of the critics, with the exception of Mr. Furnivall, seems to get any idea of the integrity of Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page'.[59] Grindon believed that the light-hearted tone of the play which had led people to believe the play was of no moment was in fact a sign of Shakespeare's genius: 'That the manner of the working should be mirth-provoking is one of the greatest strokes of the genius of Shakespeare and surely a protest against the "dourness" of the Puritan style of correction'.[60] Others had been misled by the play's humorous nature into a misreading of the wives, with Grindon daring to assert that they should be regarded as positive role models: 'The characters of the two Merry Wives have many facets; their bright and lively manner has blinded some eyes, but they are true coin of the realm, Mrs. Ford particularly so, and women can learn much from them'.[61] However, instead of simplistically blaming the critics for their lack of perception, Grindon believed that it was the subtlety and guile of Shakespeare's writing that were responsible for blinding their eyes: 'That the moral and the tribute to womanhood should be so veiled as to delude some people into seeing none, is a tribute to Shakespeare's art'.[62]

Her 1906 work on *Antony and Cleopatra* was ground breaking as it challenged the consensus that Anthony was the protagonist of the play – an aspect of this essay finally recognized in

scholarship on the play's reception as recently as 1977. In "Egyptian Queens and Male Reviewers: Sexist Attitudes in Antony and Cleopatra", L. T. Fitz points out that Grindon was one of very few critics ever to recognise Cleopatra as the play's real focus: 'Such heretical works are hard to get hold of; for example, an intriguing book by a critic named Grindon – Rosa Grindon – which advances the delightful and provocative thesis that "the men critics in their sympathy for Antony, have treated Cleopatra just as Antony's men friends did, and for the same cause"'.[63]

Grindon's contributions in academic and public domains continued after the Victorian era, through publishing articles, speaking at the Shakespeare Festival (the first female to do so), promoting a new Shakespeare society for Manchester, organizing the city's 1916 Tercentenary celebrations and funding Manchester Central Library's Shakespeare window. I explore these contributions in more detail in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 9 – THE LEGACY OF MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE

In this concluding chapter I will describe the enduring legacies of Manchester's nineteenth-century engagement with Shakespeare.

After Darbyshire had described it in his *The Art of the Victorian Stage*, the phrase 'Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan' disappeared from the literature but its influence continued in the following decades. In 1901, the City Surveyor ordered that extensive modifications be made to the Prince's Theatre to improve access into and out of the building. A marble staircase to the dress circle was installed, the staircases to the stalls, saloon bar and gallery were replaced by wider ones constructed in concrete and an additional exit was provided from the saloon bar directly onto Bale Street.[1] The Plan also influenced theatre design outside Britain. Theatres constructed in continental Europe around the turn of the century such as the Lviv Theatre of Opera and Ballet (1900), Hamburg's Deutsches Schauspielhaus (1901) and the Josef Kajetán Tyl Theatre in Plzeň (1902), exhibit characteristics promoted in the Plan – free-standing sites, fireproof construction and multiple exits on at least three sides. The international competition for the design of the new Ukrainian National Opera House in Kyiv, destroyed by fire in 1896 and reopened in 1901, may have been one way in which the Plan was disseminated more widely. Other routes may have been the international network of firefighting professionals described by Shane Ewen in his 2005 article "The Internationalization of Fire Protection: In Pursuit of Municipal Networks in Edwardian Birmingham". Alfred Tozer, whose father had, as chief officer of the Manchester Fire Brigade (1862-1892), reviewed Darbyshire's plan for the Comedy Theatre in 1884, became Birmingham's chief fire officer in 1879.[2] European municipalities forged international networks during the last quarter of the nineteenth century when urbanization was at its peak.

For example, between 1875 and 1917, Helsinki financed visits abroad to study infrastructure programmes in Britain and Germany.[3] Fire congresses became exhibitions were increasingly prominent within Europe, the first being held in Paris in 1889 under the auspices of the Federation of French and Algerian Fire Services[4] In June 1902, a deputation representing Birmingham fire brigade attended the International Congress and Exhibition of Fire Brigades in Berlin, after visiting Antwerp and Brussels to inspect their municipal brigades.[5] The Tozer family constituted its own network with family members appointed as senior officers in West Bromwich, Manchester, Finchley and Rangoon, facilitating the diffusion of best practice and the formation of professional networks.[6]

Although theatre construction declined after the First World War, the Plan remained relevant to the design of cinemas, which employed the same basic internal layout as theatres but were particularly vulnerable to fire due to the highly flammable nitrate film stock and the liberal use of electric lighting. The Plan's enduring influence can be detected in the Cinematograph Act (1909) which mandated the provision of a fire-resistant projection booth while in 1934 the Home Office provided a unified approach in its *Manual of Safety Requirements in Theatres and Other Places of Public Entertainment*.[7] National uniformity only became possible after the passing of the Public Health Act (1961) which transferred the formulation of building controls from local authorities to central government and was consolidated by the first set of national regulations created under the auspices of this act which came into force on 1 February 1966.

The cinema gradually replaced the theatre as the preeminent form of entertainment so spectacular and historically accurate Shakespeare transferred with it, but the spirit of

innovation and independent thought was still alive in post-Victorian Manchester. In 1896, Courtneidge began his career as a theatre manager in Manchester, first at the Prince's Theatre, and then from 1898 to 1902 as Managing Director of both the Prince's and the Theatre Royal. In 1902, he attempted a spectacular revival of *As You Like It* with Richard Flanagan as his manager at the Queen's Theatre. They provided five sets of scenery featuring water-lily ponds with real water and real deer and, like Calvert's *Henry V*, a large cast of two hundred and fifty actors was assembled while the audience was indulged with 'antimacassars on the back of every seat'. But the audience reaction was not as would be expected at one of Calvert's revivals: 'It took them half a scene to take in the water lilies and the deer and by then they had lost track of the plot'. Disaster was only averted when Irving praised the production in an address he gave at the Arts Club and, as a result, 'it played to capacity business for the rest of its allotted run'.[8] However, Courtneidge could not convince the owners of the theatres to invest in good quality drama so on 17 February 1903, he resigned and sold the rights to his productions of these two plays to George Musgrove in Australia. Mancunian Shakespeare could in this way still follow Calvert's example by exporting its productions internationally.[9]

Despite this setback, Flanagan went on to produce twenty-three revivals at the Queen's Theatre, one every year from 1896 to 1915, but his greatest innovation lay outside the productions themselves; he instituted the first large scale theatrical outreach and he asked Grindon, the foremost female Shakespearean scholar, to deliver it. Following his invitation in December 1900 to members of the Ladies' Literary Club to a private inspection of his preparations for the revival of the *Merchant of Venice*, in December 1902 he invited five hundred ladies and gentlemen to a viewing of the principal dresses and properties of his

production of *Henry VIII* and to a reading by Grindon of 'a thoughtful paper dealing with considerations previous to seeing "*The Famous History of the Life of King Henry the Eighth*"'.[10] This outreach event encouraged Grindon in her scholarship and she published an essay *In Praise of Shakespeare's Henry VIII: An Exposition and Appreciation* as a tie-in with Flanagan's production of the play. Between 1906 and 1915, Grindon's series of lectures around the time of the production's opening night became a regular event. Her lecture in conjunction with *Cymbeline* was given at the Queen's Theatre on the afternoon of 10 January 1906 and repeated on 24 January 1906. She 'traced in detail the story of Imogen and Posthumus' and 'pointed out the many details of one of the least known of Shakespeare's works'.[11]

On the afternoon of 9 January 1907, Grindon gave a lecture on *Othello* and the extension of public access to the costumes provides an indication of the popularity of Shakespeare in Manchester in the Edwardian era: 'About eight hundred people availed themselves yesterday of the opportunity of viewing the dresses to be worn in the forthcoming production'. One report contained the first indication that her scholarship was being recognised outside Manchester, being described as 'a prominent member of the recently formed Manchester branch of the British Empire Shakespeare Society'.[12] (This had been founded in 1901 by the actor Greta Morritt to promote Shakespeare's works throughout the Empire by organising dramatic readings and costume recitals.)

Her lecture devoted to *Antony and Cleopatra* on 29 December 1908 is noteworthy because of its connection with another influential female theatrical figure, Annie Horniman, who earlier that year had supported a plan to create a repertory company at the Gaiety Theatre in

Manchester. On this occasion Horniman presided and expounded her views on the theatre: 'I have heard a great deal in Manchester about the need of elevating the drama. It makes me very angry. Who are we that we should elevate the drama? The drama has got to elevate us…I am not trying to elevate the drama. It would be considered as a great impertinence'.[13]

Her second lecture in connection with Flanagan's fifteenth revival, *Twelfth Night*, on 7 February 1910, is significant because it was presided over by the Dean of Manchester, James Welldon, demonstrating that there were now no concerns about a senior clergyman speaking in a theatre, at least not when discussing Shakespeare with Grindon.[14] Grindon's final lectures were devoted to *The Merchant of Venice* on 23 and 31 January 1915 and 11 February 1915. On the second date, the chairperson, Sir Walter Behrens, stated that Manchester was 'doing more than any city in England for the study of Shakespeare', demonstrating Manchester's enduring commitment to the educational aspects of his plays.[15]

Grindon went on to create a career as a free-thinking, independent Shakespearean scholar, supported by many people with varied associations. Her friend, Benson, invited her to deliver the lecture at the Shakespeare festival in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1909, the first woman to do so. The anti-suffragette author Marie Corelli even invited her to tea at her home, Mason Croft: 'I shall be quite at leisure on the Sunday'.[16] Grindon was invited to lecture at this event in 1910 and 1911 as well. In 1912, she published a pamphlet promoting *A New Shakespeare Society* which would lay the foundations of the 1916 Manchester Tercentenary Committee.[17] She continued to publish books on Shakespeare which challenged the male-dominated views of his plays yet, although she described herself as a suffragist, her views were perceptive and innovative rather than overtly political (see table 9 for a list of her works).

More evidence of Manchester's independence of thought can be found in the eccentric writings of John Cuming Walters whose contribution to Shakespearean literature revolved around an attempted elucidation of the sonnets and a challenge to the authorship of Shakespeare's works under the pseudonym Francisco Skepticus. His views would be of little moment were it not for the fact that he was editor of the *Manchester City News* and spoke at the Arts Club on Shakespeare where the higher echelons of Manchester society still regarded Shakespeare as a spiritual guide. Every year the Arts Club hosted a Shakespeare lecture which was given by such eminent personalities as Sir William Bailey, chairperson of the Manchester Ship Canal company, who in 1895 spoke on *Montaigne and Shakespeare*[18] and William Edward Webb, a painter of marine scenes, who gave an address in 1910 entitled *Shakespeare as a National Asset*.[19]

On 11 July 1907, a letter from Ben Iden Payne appeared in several Manchester newspapers announcing that 'Miss. A. E. F. Horniman, with myself as her general manager, hopes to form a repertory theatre in Manchester'. Although Horniman was a Londoner, Payne stated that 'We have chosen Manchester because we feel that of all towns it is the one most ready for such an undertaking, and that there, if anywhere, there will be the support necessary for the success of our scheme'.[20] Payne may have been influenced by the successes of Calvert and Flanagan but the enthusiastic reception given to the Independent Theatre Society between 1893 and 1898 would have done just as much to confirm the city's appetite for experimental theatre. The manifesto of the proposed repertory theatre certainly owed more to this society than to the Theatre Royal or Prince's Theatre:

a) A repertory theatre with a regular change of programme, not wedded to any school of dramatists…

b) A permanent Manchester stock company of picked front-ranked actors

c) Efficient productions

d) Popular prices[21]

After several productions at the Midland Theatre, Horniman completed the purchase of the Gaiety Theatre from United Theatres Ltd. in March 1908. She opened not just with Shakespeare's lesser-known *Measure for Measure* but with a production of it in the William Poel manner. Poel had founded the Elizabethan Stage Society 'to illustrate and advance the principle that Shakespeare's plays should be accorded the build of stage for which they were designed'.[22] His productions were distinguished by using largely amateur casts, no scenery, and an Elizabethan open-platform stage. In a city accustomed to a quite different type of production, this was a risky decision but one designed to differentiate this theatre from others. As far as possible, given the continued use of a proscenium arch, Elizabethan methods were adopted, there being no scenery, few properties and continuous action except for one interval during which Elizabethan songs were played by the orchestra. And, like Poel, Horniman and Payne relied on the original text as far as possible. Benson certainly approved of their production and announced it would appear for one night as part of his season at Stratford-upon-Avon's Memorial Theatre.[23] One reviewer even described this event as 'one of the theatrical sensations of my life'.[24]

Tangible traces of Manchester's adoption of Shakespeare and of Dawson's Civic Gospel as influences distinct from other factors which directed the city's development are harder to

identify. However, two extant artefacts are significant. First is the portrait originally called *Head of a Negro in the Character of Othello* but now entitled *A Moor* on display in Manchester Art Gallery. In 1983, the theatre historian Ruth Cowhig identified the sitter as the American actor, Ira Aldridge, who, on his début in London on 11 May 1825, became the first black actor to play Othello and who performed the same role in Manchester in February 1827. Although an American, Aldridge was usually billed as 'the celebrated African Roscius' and, according to Lindfors, 'His dignified presence on the stage made a compelling case for both the abolition of slavery and the advancement of the colonial enterprise'.[25] In addition to these two missions, travellers to Africa in the nineteenth-century had promulgated the view that Africans could be uplifted by exposure to Western education, commerce and Christianity. As Lindfors says, 'To theatregoers in the British Isles, the African Roscius stood as a living example of this kind of benevolent cultural transformation. Here was a black man capable of understanding and interpreting Shakespeare. Such an Othello provided ocular proof of the civilizing impact of Europe on a benighted people'.[26] This portrait provided additional and very public 'ocular proof'. His likeness won the prize for best portrait in the first Art Exhibition organised by the Manchester Royal Institution in 1827 and it is indicative of the city's willingness to promote equality of race, gender, colour and nationality that this portrait was the very first item purchased by the institution, the cost being thirty guineas, quite a considerable sum for the time.[27] This painting is still owned and displayed by the gallery.

A century later Grindon made a bequest in her will for a Shakespeare Window to be erected above the main entrance of Manchester's Central Library which was scheduled to open in 1933. Robert Anning Bell designed the window whose scenes and characters were selected

for more than mere aesthetic considerations. Surrounding a centrepiece of Shakespeare himself, the female characters are portrayed as either victims of men's behaviour or as strong figures while the male characters are controlling or weak. Caesar is shown with his combover hairstyle to disguise the baldness with which Suetonius said the emperor was obsessed and Henry the Fifth is shown as a feckless young man in a public house. The only dominant male character is Othello who is represented as a confident and powerful figure holding a military truncheon which is not the usual plain wooden affair but an ornate sceptre-like instrument. Through this window, Shakespeare continues to illuminate Manchester with his spiritual messages of equality, tolerance, inclusivity and humanity.

## GENERAL NOTES

1) Calvert's acting edition of *The Winter's Tale* was entitled *A Winter's Tale*. I have used the latter title when referring to his production but the former title for other instances of the play.

2) The large quantity of references to newspaper reports rendered it impractical to use footnotes so I have collated all references in endnotes grouped by chapter and identified numerically using number series which recommence at the start of each chapter. Titles of the most frequently quoted newspapers are abbreviated. (See *Abbreviations of Newspaper Titles*, p. 279)

3) Quotes from Shakespeare's plays are located by reference to *The Norton Shakespeare* (Third edition, 2015).

4) The entries in the bibliography conform to the standards described in the Modern Language Association (MLA) ninth edition (2021) handbook.

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## LIST OF REPOSITORIES

British Newspaper Archive (BNA) (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk) was launched in November 2011 and is derived from the British Library's collection of newspapers. This collection benefited from the legal deposit legislation of 1869 which stipulated that every newspaper deposit a copy of every edition with the British Library. Consequently, a complete run of London editions of all national daily and Sunday newspapers from 1801 until the present day are available. The collection consists of 660,000 bound volumes and 370,000 reels of microfilm on forty-five kilometres of shelves. As of 7 August 2021, the BNA provides searchable images of 44,214,122 pages.

In 2010 ancestry.com purchased iArchives.inc which brought in the capability to digitise documents and in 2012 archives.com was purchased which added millions of digitised newspaper pages. Both these subsidiaries were spun off in 2012 to form Newspapers.com (www.newspapers.com). As of 7 August 2021, Newspapers.com possesses 669,573,158 pages derived from over 21,000 different newspapers from 1700 to the present day and states it is the largest online newspaper archive.

TimesMachine (timesmachine.nytimes.com) is a web-based archive of scanned issues of New York Times from 1851 through 2002 and provides approximately four million pages derived from every issue of New York Times published between 1851 and 2002. (See open.blogs.nytimes.com/2016/02/01/how-to-build-a-timesmachine

Papers Past (paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/all) A web-based archive of newspapers published in Australia and New Zealand.

Gale Primary Sources
(go-gale-com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/ps/dispBasicSearch.do?userGroupName=bham_uk&prodId=GDCS)
A portal allowing searches across twenty-three repositories simultaneously.

*Gale Literature: Dictionary of Literary Biography.* Farmington Hills, Michigan: Gale Cengage Learning, 2009.
go.gale.com/ps/start.do?p=DLBC&u=jrycal5
Accessed via the University of Manchester's on-site public access facility.

## ABBREVIATIONS OF NEWSPAPER TITLES

MCLGA *Manchester Courier and Local General Advertiser*

MEN *Manchester Evening News*

MG *Manchester Guardian*

MM *Manchester Mercury*

MT *Manchester Times*

MWTE *Manchester Weekly Times and Examiner*

## ENDNOTES

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1 Manual count of entries in *List of performances of Shakespeare in Manchester, 1753-1954* by *anon* in Manchester Central Library. ThF792.9Sh4 manchester.spydus.co.uk/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/ENQ/RARE/BIBENQ?BRN=1999785. Accessed 30 October 2021.
2 Manual count of entries in *Shakespeare productions at the Theatre Royal, Birmingham, from 1774 to 1837* by Alfrida Annie Lee. University of Birmingham, 1971. birmingham.spydus.co.uk/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/ENQ/OPAC/BIBENQ?BRN=873065. Accessed 30 October 2021.
3 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare in the Age of Empire*, p. 171
4 George, p. xxxi
5 Maclean, p. 8
6 George, p. xlii
7 *ibid.*, p. xliii
8 Hodgkinson and Pogson, p. 6
9 *ibid.*, p. 29
10 *MM,* 13 May 1760 quoted in Hodgkinson and Pogson, p. 26
11 *MM,* 8 January 1761 quoted in Hodgkinson and Pogson, p. 29
12 *MM*, 27 April 1762 quoted in Hodgkinson and Pogson, p. 33
13 *MM,* 9 June 1762 quoted in Hodgkinson and Pogson, pp. 33-39
14 Hodgkinson and Pogson, p. 34
15 *ibid.*, pp. 34, 39
The 'Cushion scene' probably refers to *1 Henry IV* 2.5. Knowing that Prince Harry 'must to the court in the morning' (306-307), he and Falstaff prepare by staging an impromptu play in which Harry will 'practice an answer' (341) to his father. They take turns acting the roles of prince and king in front of the tavern's customers. 'Do thou stand for my father, and examine me upon the particulars of my life' (342-343), orders Harry. At this point, Falstaff places a cushion as an improvised crown on his head.
16 *ibid.*, p. 63
17 *ibid.*, p. 67
18 *ibid.*, pp. 83-86
19 Lindfors, p. 43
20 *ibid.*, p. 65
21 Hoyles, p. 26
22 Hunt, p. 141
23 Briggs, *Victorian People,* p. 205
24 Bagehot, vol. 3, p. 216
25 Briggs, *Victorian Cities,* p. 56
26 Hartwell, p. 155
27 Taylor, W. C., p. 9 quoted in Hunt, p. 192
28 Jones pp. 156-157 quoted in Hunt, p. 192
29 Hunt, p. 191

30 *ibid.*, p. 192
31 *Art-Union*, No. 1, 15 February 1839, p. 5
32 Hunt, p. 196
33 *ibid.*, p. 198
34 *MG*, 31 October 1835, p. 3
35 Disraeli, p. 127 quoted in Hunt, p. 200
36 Kebbel pp. 626-627 quoted in Hunt, p. 200
37 Gay, p. 61

## CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

1 Odell, II, p. 358
2 Manchester Central Library. *Material relating to Charles Calvert*. Th792.094273Ca2 manchester.spydus.co.uk/cgi-bin/spydus.exe/ENQ/OPAC/BIBENQ?BRN=2209317.
3 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 152
4 *ibid.*, pp. 152-153
5 Batchelder, p. 20
6 *ibid.*, p. 22
7 *ibid.*, p. 23
8 *ibid.*, p. 28
9 Irving, pp. 103-122
10 *ibid.*, pp. 481-490
11 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 347
12 Coleman, p. 656
13 Foulkes, *The Calverts*, p. 84
14 Odell II, p. 303 quoted in Rostron, p. 293
15 Odell II, p. 304 quoted in Rostron, p. 244
16 Rostron, p. 293
17 *ibid.*, p. 297
18 Smialkowska, pp. 219-243
19 *ibid.*, pp. 237-243
20 Ramwell
21 Kilgarriff
22 Darlington
23 Shalks
24 Emm
25 Hulme and Nicholson
26 *John Bull*, 23 September 1876, p. 9
27 Prince, p. 14
28 *ibid.*, p. 5
29 Batchelder, p. 25
30 Shellard, p. 7 quoted in Prescott, p. 21
31 Prescott, p. 6
32 *ibid.*, p. 12
33 *ibid.*, p. 18
34 *ibid.*, p. 20
35 Gray, p. 201 quoted in Prescott, p. 43
36 Dickens, p. 97
37 quoted in Marshall and Poole, vol. 2, p. 88
38 quoted in Marshall and Poole, vol. 2, p. 92
39 *Manchester Stage*, p. 9
40 *The Entr'acte and Limelight*, 31 January 1885 quoted in Jackson, *Victorian Theatre*, p. 327
41 Rowell, p. 166
42 Prescott, p. 5

43 *Manchester Stage*, pp. 9-10
44 *ibid.*, p. 11
45 Prince, p. 12
46 Marshall, p. 2
47 Marshall and Poole, Vol. 2, p. 176
48 *ibid.*, p. 177

## CHAPTER 3 – FROM STAGECOACH TO STAGECRAFT

1 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age,* p. 27
2 Allen, pp. 40-41
3 *ibid.,* p. 42
4 Macready and Toynbee, ii, pp. 349-350
5 Allen, pp. 61-62
6 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age,* p. 46
7 Allen, p. 42
8 *ibid.*, p. 42
9 *Examiner*, 17 June 1843, p. 373
10 *ibid.*
11 Quoted in Trewin, p. 199.
12 *Examiner*, 17 June 1843, p. 373
13 *ibid.*
14 Schoch, p. 46
15 *Theatres Act (1843)*, section 12
16 Poole, pp. 12-13
17 Davis, *Economics*, p. 74
18 *MG*, 23 February 1880, p. 5
19 *ibid.*
20 Swindells, pp. 55-56.
21 *MG*, 31 July 1844, p. 5
22 *ibid.*
23 *ibid.*
24 Allen, pp. 8-9
25 *MG*, 31 July 1844, p. 5
26 *ibid.*
27 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age,* p. 28
28 *MG*, 31 July 1844, p. 5
29 *ibid.*
30 *Era*, 29 September 1844, p. 5
31 *MG*, 1 October 1845, p. 8
32 *ibid.*
33 *MG*, 2 January 1882, p. 8
34 *ibid.*
35 *ibid.*
36 *MG*, 23 February 1880, p. 5
37 *Era*, 29 September 1844, p. 5
38 *Era*, 22 February 1896, p. 13
39 *Era*, 16 November 1845, p. 6
40 *Era*, 15 April 1849, p. 8
41 *ibid.*
42 *Era*, 6 May 1855, p. 12

43 *MT*, 27 September 1845, p. 2
44 *MCLGA*, 2 December 1846, p. 3
45 Shaughnessy, pp. 54-55
46 *Era*, 22 May 1853, p. 11
47 *Era*, 17 July 1853, p. 11
48 *Era*, 24 July 1853, p. 10
49 *Era*, 14 August 1853, p. 11
50 *MG*, 25 April 1885, p. 7
51 *Era*, 23 April 1854, p. 13
52 *ibid.*
53 *Era*, 7 May 1854, p. 11
54 *Era*, 23 April 1854, p. 13
55 *Era*, 7 May 1854, p. 11
56 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 37
57 *ibid.*, p. 29
58 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 35
59 Temperley, pp. 43-44
60 *ibid.*, p. 44
61 *MG*, 27 September 1851, p. 5
62 Temperley, p. 45
63 *MG*, 11 February 1854, p. 7
64 *MG,* 15 April 1854, p. 7
65 *MWTE*, 19 April 1854, p. 5
66 *East Lancashire Review*, 1890-1899, p. 3
67 *MG*, 13 August 1845, p. 6
68 *MG*, 4 June 1853, p. 7
69 *MG*, 24 March 1855, p. 7
70 *Era*, 15 August 1858, p. 8
71 *Era*, 4 March 1860, p. 9
72 *MG*, 12 November 1859, p. 5
73 *ibid.*
74 *Era*, 25 January 1852, p. 12

## CHAPTER 4 – GEORGE DAWSON, THE CIVIC GOSPEL AND SHAKESPEARE

1 Fernie, *Lost Prophet*, p. [5]
2 *ibid.*
3 Dawson quoted in Fernie, *Lost Prophet*, p. [5]
4 Fernie, *Lost Prophet*, pp. [7-8]
5 Dawson, *Shakespeare and Other Lectures,* p. 103
6 Fernie, *Lost Prophet*, p. [7]
7 *ibid.*, p. [6]
8 *Northern Star*, 2 May 1840, p. 7 quoted in Taylor, *Shakespeare and Radicalism*, p. 367
9 *Northern Star*, 18 April 1840, p. 3 quoted in Taylor, *Shakespeare and Radicalism*, p. 368
10 *National Reformer*, 30 April 1876, p. 278 quoted in Taylor, *Shakespeare and Radicalism*, pp. 357-358
11 Kargon, p. 45
12 Cleveland, p. 125
13 Knight, p. 13.
14 Tylecote, p. 131
15 Kargon, p. 24
16 Tylecote p. 135
17Prentice, p. 73
18 Kargon, p. 24
19 *MT*, 16 April 1836, p. 4
The other members of the Circle were John Edward Taylor, Thomas Potter, Joseph Brotherton, William Harvey, Fenton Robinson Atkinson, John Benjamin Smith, Absalom Watkin, John Shuttleworth and Edward Baxter.
20 Prentice, p. 73
21 *MG,* 30 June 1821, p. 3
22 Projected Newsroom and Literary and Scientific Institution Manchester October 1833 to December 1839, Manchester Archives +, GB127. M2 1/1, p. 25
23 Projected Newsroom and Literary and Scientific Institution Manchester October 1833 to December 1839, Manchester Archives+, GB127. M2 1/1, p. 2
24 Mammatt, p. 131
25 *Manchester Athenæum*, p. 23
26 Mammatt, p. 137
27 *MT*, 25 April 1840, p. 4
28 *MCLGA*, 3 February 1844, p. 8
29 *MCLGA*, 17 August 1844, p. 8
30 *ibid.*
31 *Manchester Athenæum*, p. 215
32 Ireland, p. 8
33 *ibid.,* p. 9
34 Carlyle, pp. 104-105
35 *Sheffield Independent*, 28 February 1846, p. 2
36 Ireland, p. 5

37 *ibid.*, p. 8
38 *ibid.*, p. 9
39 *MCLGA*, 31 January 1846, p. 6
40 *MT*, 31 January 1846, p. 6
41 Ireland, p. 9
42 *ibid.*
43 *ibid.*
44 *MCLGA*, 25 April 1846, p. 5
45 Dawson, *Shakespeare and Other Lectures,* p. 1.
46 *ibid.*, p. 3.
47 *ibid.*, p. 5.
48 *MT*, 25 April 1846, p. 5
49 *MT*, 25 April 1846, p. 7
50 *MCLGA*, 24 June 1846, p. 4
51 *Huddersfield Chronicle, 1 May 1882*, p. 4
52 *MCLGA*, 26 September 1846, p. 6
53 *MCLGA*, 30 September 1846, p. 7
54 *MCLGA*, 10 October 1846, p. 7
55 *MCLGA*, 17 October 1846, p. 7
56 *MCLGA*, 21 October 1846, p. 6
57 *MCLGA*, 30 January 1847, p. 6
58 *MCLGA*, 1 April 1848, p. 5
59 Wach*,* pp. 385-386
60 Easby*,* p. 7
61 *MCLGA*, 19 April 1848, p. 8
62 *MT*, 11 December 1847, p. 6
63 *MT*, 22 April 1848, p. 6
64 quoted in Hewitt. '*First lecture on the Present State of Europe*'. Volume II, 491, Dawson Collection, BCA; MX, II April 1848, *MG*, 21 April 1848.
65 *MT*, 30 April 1851, p. 6
66 *MCLGA*, 12 October 1865, p. 3
67 Reekes and Roberts, p. 22
68 *ibid.*, p. 9
69 *MCLGA*, 25 April 1864, p. 3
70 Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, p. 184
71 *MCLGA*, 26 November 1853, p. 9
72 *MCLGA*, 22 July 1848, p. 5
73 *MCLGA*, 9 August 1848, p. 8
74 *MCLGA*, 28 July 1855, p. 11
75 *MCLGA*, 16 June 1847, p. 8
76 *MCLGA*, 21 December 1850, p. 11
77 *MT*, 13 March 1847, p. 4
78 *MCLGA*, 21 January 1854, p. 11

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 1 – CHARLES CALVERT AND THE SAVING OF HENRY IRVING

1 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 57
2 *ibid.*, p. 56
3 *MCLGA*, 11 December 1841, p. 5
4 *Bell's New Weekly Messenger*, 4 December 1842, p. 5
5 Manchester Theatres Index: The Theatre Royal
6 Shaughnessy, p. 82
7 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 96
8 Byron and Calvert, *Sardanapalus*, pp. i-ii
9 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 95
10 Shaughnessy, p. 81
11 *ibid.*
12 Poole, *Shakespeare and the Victorians*, p. 59
13 *ibid.,* pp. 59-63
14 *ibid.,* pp. 67-68
15 *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 136, no. 1097, 1994, p. 585
16 Foulkes, *Charles Kean's King Richard II*, p. 49
17 Hunt, p. 220
18 *ibid.*, p. 191
19 *ibid.*, p.221
20 Poole, *Shakespeare and the Victorians*, p. 204
21 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, pp. 48-49
22 Jackson, *Victorian Theatre*, pp. 260-261
23 *MCLGA*, 6 November 1866, p. 5
24 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 46
25 Coleman, Vol. 1, pp. 113-114
26 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 47
27 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, pp. 48-49
28 *ibid.*, p. 50
29 Henson, p. 99
30 Creswick, p. 70
31 McCourt, p. 116
32 *ibid.*, p. 196
33 Creswick, p. 70
34 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years,* p. 60
35 *ibid.,* pp. 58-59 quoted in Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 37
36 *ibid.,* pp. 59-60
37 *MCLGA*, 19 November 1859, p. 10
W. S. Gilbert in his comic play *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* used Hamlet's non-authentic attire as evidence of his madness. Ophelia remarks that 'Though we're in Denmark, A.D. ten−six−two- / He always dresses as King James the First!', to which Guildenstern responds, 'Oh, he is surely mad!' (Gilbert, p. 80).

38 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 39
39 *Guardian*, 15 November 1859, p. 3
40 *MCLGA,* 19 November 1859, p.10
41 *ibid.*
42 *ibid.*
43 *ibid.*
44 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years,* p. 63
45 Nicoll, Vol. V, p.783
46 Léger-St-Jean
47 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1859
48 Léger-St-Jean
49 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1861
50 *Era*, 7 April 1861, p. 13
51 *Glasgow Morning Journal*, 23 June 1862, p. 4
52 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1862
53 *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, 14 March 1862, p. 5
54 *Nottingham Journal*, 14 April 1862, p.13
55 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1862
56 *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 April 1863, p. 3
57 *Era*, 30 March 1862, p. 12
58 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1862
59 *MCLGA*, 26 April 1862, p. 6
60 *Era*, 1 June 1862, p. 16
61 *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 April 1863, p. 3
62 *Era*, 13 September 1863, p. 12
63 *London Evening Standard*, 5 January 1863, p. 1
64 Lord Chamberlain's Plays, 1852 - 1866. Plays licensed in 1863
65 *MCLGA*, 30 May 1863, p. 6
66 Powell, p. 84
67 Schoch, *Performing Shakespeare*, pp. 10-11
68 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 57
69 Irving, p. 104
70 Baynham, pp. 192-193
71 *MCLGA*, 30 September 1887, p. 6
72 Irving, p. 104
73 *MCLGA*, 29 September 1860, p. 7
74 Irving, p. 105
75 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 61
76 *ibid.*, p. 62
77 Irving, p. 107
78 *ibid.*, p. 109
79 *ibid.*, p. 110
80 Brereton, p. 35
81 *ibid.*, pp. 35-3

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 2 – THE INVENTION OF MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE

1 Calvert, Ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. [ii]
2 *MCLGA*, 25 April 1864, p. 3
3 Manktelow, p. 178
4 *MCLGA*, 25 April 1864, p. 3
5 *ibid.*
6 *MCLGA*, 23 May 1864, p. 1
7 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 62
8 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 73
9 *MT*, 22 October 1864, p. 6
10 *Theatrical Journal*, 19 November 1842, pp. 370-371
11 *MT*, 22 October 1864, p. 6
12 *MCLGA*, 17 October 1864, p. 2
13 Hazelton, p. 42
14 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 62
15 *MCLGA*, 11 September 1866, p. 5
16 *MT*, 15 September 1866, p. 5
17 *MCLGA*, 10 September 1866, p. 1
18 *MCLGA*, 6 November 1866, p. 5
19 *MCLGA*, 7 September 1869, p. 1
20 *MCLGA*, 2 September 1869, p. 1
21 *MCLGA*, 7 September 1869, p. 1
22 *MCLGA*, 10 September 1869, p. 3
23 Calvert, Ed., *Richard III*, p. iv
24 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 46
25 *MG*, 31 August 1870, p. 4
This advertisement also includes a lengthy contribution by Calvert explaining his approach to historical accuracy in armour, costume and scenery and a justification for rejecting the text of Colley Cibber.
26 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 98
Line from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* has been misquoted by Calvert here.
'Where Venice sate in state, throned on her hundred isles!'. (Canto 4 Stanza 1)
27 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 103
28 *MT*, 23 September 1871, p. 5
29 *Morning Advertiser*, 8 November 1859, p. 6
30 *MEN*, 20 September 1871, p. 1
31 *MEN*, 20 September 1870, p. 2
32 *MEN*, 11 September 1872, p. 1
33 Foulkes, *Charles Calvert's Henry V*, p. 30
34 *MG*, 8 March 1871, p. 8
35 *ibid.*
36 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 49
37 *ibid.*, p. 62
38 *ibid.*, p. 81

39 Darbyshire, *Art of the Victorian Stage*, p. 50
40 *Salford Weekly News*, 28 September 1872, p. 3
41 *MT*, 21 Sep 1872, p. 5
42 *Salford Weekly News*, 21 September 1872, p. 3
43 Knight, p. 148
44 Meisel, p. 48
45 *MCLGA*, 30 September 1874, p. 6
46 *MCLGA*, 22 October 1874, p. 1
47 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage,* p. 35
48 Booth, *Spectacular Theatre*, p. 25
49 *MT*, 22 October 1864, p. 6
50 *MCLGA*, 4 September 1865, p. 3
51 Promptbook MND14, p. 9
52 *ibid*., p. 13
53 *ibid.*, pp. 24-25
54 *ibid.*, p. 26
55 *ibid.*, p. 28
56 *ibid.*, p. 7
57 Promptbook HEN V 3, p. 27
The *London Magazine* (August 1820, p. 213) refers to 'the beautiful red fire which is now so frequently used in the theatres', listing its ingredients, besides sulphur, as nitrate of strontium, chlorate of potash, and sulphuret of antimony, or, as they are now known, strontium nitrate, potassium chlorate, and antimony trisulfide.
58 *MCLGA*, 18 September 1869, p. 6
59 *MT*, 9 October 1869, p. 4
60 *MCLGA*, 18 September 1869, p. 6
61 Booth, *Spectacular Theatre*, p. 26
62 *Era*, 10 October 1875, p. 11 quoted in Rees, pp. 143-144
63 *ibid.*
64 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 58
65 Booth, *Spectacular Theatre*, p. 48
66 Powell, p. 61
67 Kean, Ed. *The Winter's Tale*, pp. 27-30, 45-46, 54-59, 87-88, 100-105
68 Ward, p. 267 quoted in Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 57
69 Details from an unidentified news cutting in the Local History Library, Manchester Central Library quoted in Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 57
70 Calvert, Ed., *Richard III*, p. iv
71 *MCLGA*, 30 September 1874, p. 6
72 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 74
73 *MT*, 22 October 1864, p. 6
74 *MCLGA*, 1 March 1865, p. 1
75 Calvert, Ed., *The Merchant of Venice*, p. iv quoted in Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 58
76 *MEN*, 12 October 1874, p. 2
77 *MCLGA*, 19 September 1866, p. 1
78 Calvert, Ed., *A Winter's Tale*, p. iv

79 *ibid.*, p. v quoted in Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 57
80 *ibid.*, p. v-vi
81 Calvert, Ed., *The Merchant of Venice*, pp. vi-vii
82 *ibid.*, p. v
83 *ibid.*, p. vi
84 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 60
85 Calvert, Ed., *Merchant of Venice*, p. [i]
86 *MEN*, 17 September 1872, p. 2
87 Brodie, p. 173
88 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 109
89 *Orchestra* quoted at "Sullivan's Incidental Music to the *Merchant of Venice*" at the Gilbert and Sullivan Archive www.gsarchive.net/sullivan/venice/index.html. Accessed 1 June 2021.
90 Jacobs, p. 198
91 Jacobs, p. 199
92 *Era*, 6 September 1869, p. 1
93 Foulkes, *Calverts*, p. 36
94 Booth, *Spectacular Theatre*, p. 3
95 Nicoll, I, 9 quoted in Davis and Emeljanow, p. 98
96 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 9
97 Booth, *Spectacular Theatre*, p. 59
98 Davis and Emeljanow, p. 98
99 *Era*, 14 June 1884, p. 8
100 *MT*, 14 December 1872, p. 4
101 *MEN*, 10 September 1873, p. 2
102 Davis, *Economics of the British Stage*, p. 270
103 Foulkes, *Calverts*, pp. 46-52 quoted in Davis, *Economics of the British Stage,* p. 270
104 Davis, *Economics of the British Stage*, p. 270
105 *MT*, 11 March 1871, p. 5
106 *Sporting Chronicle*, 27 June 1879, p. 3
107 *MT*, 4 March 1870, p. 4
108 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 89
109 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 89
110 *MEN*, 7 March 1871, p. 1
111 *MT*, 11 March 1871, p. 5
112 *ibid.*
113 *Sporting Chronicle*, 27 June 1879, p. 3
114 *MCLGA*, 6 November 1866, p. 5
115 Hamblin, p. 311
116 *Builder*, 23 April 1864, Vol. 22, Issue 1107, p. 302
117 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 83
118 *ibid.*, p. 84
119 *ibid.*, p. 85
120 Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage*, p. 40
121 *Builder*, 14 August 1869, Vol. 27, Issue 1384, p. 638
122 Wilmore and Rees, p. 18

123 *Era*, 10 July 1870, p. 16
124 *Cosmopolitan*, 8 June 1871, p. 2
125 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 March 1871, p. 3
126 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 13 June 1871, p. 6
127 *Weekly Dispatch (London)*, 18 June 1871, p. 7
128 The Proceedings of the Old Bailey. (James Payne Morgan, 18710710-552) www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=def1-551-18710710&div=t18710710-551. Accessed 13 July 2021.
129 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 July 1871, p. 8
130 *MCLGA*, 7 September 1869, p. 1
131 Spira, pp. 291-292
132 Meyer, p. 62
133 Foulkes, *The Laroche Photographs*, pp. 22-33
134 Jackson, *Shakespeare in Liverpool*, p. 101
135 Broadbent, *Liverpool Stage*, p. 313
136 *Daily Telegraph*, 2 November 1867, p. 4
137 Broadbent, *Liverpool Stage*, p. 305
138 *ibid.*
139 Jackson, *Shakespeare in Liverpool*, p. 103
140 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 11
141 Jackson, *Shakespeare in Liverpool*, p. 103
142 Saker, Ed., *Comedy of Errors*, p. [iii]
143 Jackson, *Shakespeare in Liverpool*, p. 104
144 Saker, Ed., *Much Ado About Nothing*, p. [iii]
145 Jackson, *Shakespeare in Liverpool*, p. 104
146 *ibid.*
147 Cox, p. 37
148 Saker, Ed., *The Winter's Tale*, p. [iii]
149 Saker, Ed., *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, pp. 47-48
150 Broadbent, *Liverpool Stage*, pp. 317-318

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 3 – MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE ON THE WORLD STAGE

1 Schoch, *Shakespeare's Victorian Stage*, p. 26
2 Rostron, p. 295
3 Manktelow, p. 176
4 *Newcastle Journal*, 3 September 1867, p. 2 quoted in Manktelow p. 177
5 Manktelow, p. 178
6 *Newcastle Journal*, 3 September 1867, p. 2 quoted in Manktelow p. 177
7 Moody, *Shakespeare and the Immigrants*, p. 100
8 *ibid.*, p. 99
9 Ladenheim, pp. 3-4
10 *ibid.*, pp. 4-7
11 *Era*, 6 February 1870, p. 6
12 *ibid.*
13 *ibid.*
14 *New York Times*, 16 April 1871, p. 4
15 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 February 1871, p. 6
16 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 88
17 *Sporting Chronicle*, 27 June 1879, p. 3
18 *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 24 February 1871, p. 6
19 *Buffalo Weekly Courier*, 12 April 1871, p. 1
20 *New York Herald*, 27 March 1871, p. 6
21 *New York Daily Herald*, 5 April 1871, p.14
22 *New York Times*, 16 April 1871, p. 4
23 *Hebrew Leader*, 21 April 1871, p. 8
24 *New York Times*, 13 April 1871, p.5
25 *ibid.*
26 *New York Times*, 18 April 1871, p. 4
27 *New York Times*, 28 April 1871, p. 4
28 *ibid.*
29 *Indianapolis News*, 5 May 1871, p. 3
30 *New York Tribune*, 27 April 1871, p. 4
31 *ibid.*
32 *Baltimore Sun*, 5 May 1871, p. 1
33 *ibid.*
34 *Baltimore Sun*, 9 May 1871, p. 1
35 *Baltimore Sun*, 10 May 1871, p. 1
36 *Baltimore Sun*, 13 May 1871, p. 1
37 Ritchey, p. 89
38 *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 5 May 1871, p. 4
39 *Democrat and Chronicle*, 5 May 1871, p. 2
40 *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 December 1871, p. 2
41 *Sporting Chronicle*, 27 June 1879, p. 3
42 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 26 April 1872, p. 6

43 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 19 September 1873, p. 1
44 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 3 September 1872, p. 1
45 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 17 September 1873, p. 4
46 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 24 September 1873, p. 8
47 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 October 1873, p. 4
48 *Daily Gazette* quoted in *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 September 1873, p. 4
49 *Daily Mail* quoted in *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 September 1873, p. 4
50 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 October 1873, p. 5
51 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 October 1873, p. 6
52 *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 October 1873, p. 5
53 Bloom, p. 107-108
54 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. 146
55 *ibid.*, p. 25
56 *ibid.*, p. 30
57 McCulloch, p. 772
58 North, p. 544
59 *ibid.*, p. 564
60 *Era*, 24 January 1875, p. 11
61 *New York Daily Herald*, 5 February 1875, p. 10
62 *New York Times*, 31 January 1875 p. 12
63 *Daily Memphis Avalanche*, 21 February 1875, p. 1
64 *New York Daily Herald*, 7 February 1875, p. 16
65 *ibid.*
66 Foulkes, *Charles Calvert's Henry the Fifth*, p. 32
67 *Detroit Free Press*, 14 February 1875, p. 6
68 *ibid.*
69 *Marion Commonwealth*, 1 June 1876, p. 1
70 *Detroit Free Press*, 14 February 1875, p. 6
71 *New York Times*, 11 February 1875 p. 8
72 *New York Daily Herald*, 29 March 1875, p. 9
73 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 39
74 Alger, pp. 251-252
75 *Baltimore Sun*, 17 September 1875, p. 1
76 *Star Tribune, Minneapolis*, 9 May 1875, p. 4
77 *Chicago Tribune*, 15 August 1875, p. 5
78 *Wilmington Daily Commercial*, 2 October 1875, p. 1
79 *Richmond Weekly Palladium*, 20 October 1875, p. 1
80 *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 December 1875, p. 4
81 *American Israelite*, 4 February 1876, p. 7
82 *Detroit Free Press*, 20 May 1876, p. 1
83 *Tennessean*, 18 June 1876, p. 3
84 *Sun (New York),* 5 June 1876, p. 2
85 Allstone-Brown, Vol. III, p. 118
86 *Tennessean*, 18 June 1876, p. 3
87 Ladenheim, p. 8

88 *Tennessean*, 26 May 1876, p. 3
89 *London Evening Standard*, 17 January 1876, p. 3
90 Ladenheim, p. 14
91 *ibid.*, pp. 21-22
92 *ibid.*
93 Joslyn, pp. 31-32
94 *Chicago Tribune*, 18 June 1876, p. 13
95 *Waukegan Weekly Gazette*, 1 July 1876, p. 1
96 Griffiths, p. 8
97 *ibid.*, pp. 9-10
98 *ibid.*, p. 11
99 Jebb, pp. 1-2 quoted in Griffiths, p. 16
100 Froude, p. 137 quoted in Griffiths, p. 15
101 Froude, p. 135 quoted in Griffiths, p. 15
102 Griffiths, p. 18
103 *Press* (New Zealand), 19 May 1897, p. 1
104 Holloway, p. 48
105 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 August 1876, p. 10
106 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 July 1876, p. 10
107 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 103
108 *Evening Post*, 19 December 1878, p. 3
109 *Evening Post*, 27 December 1878, p. 3
110 *New Zealand Herald*, 27 December 1878, p. 5
111 'Rignall, George Richard' at the Australian Dictionary of Biography. adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rignall-george-richard-4478/text7311. Accessed 31 August 2021.
112 Playbill for *Henry V* at Her Majesty's Opera House, Sydney, 24 December 1885. State Library of New South Wales. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/collection-items/her-majestys-opera-house-24-dec-1885-henry-v-shakespeare-george-rignold. Accessed 31 August 2021.
113 Calvert, Ed., *HV*, pp. 78-80 and Rignold, Ed., *HV*, pp. 62-63
114 Rignold, Ed., *HV*, pp. [i]-viii.
115 *London Evening Standard*, 27 October 1979, p. 7
116 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 26
117 Mercer, p. 75
118 Smith, *Shakespeare in Production: King Henry V*, p. 35
119 *Press* (New Zealand), 19 May 1897, p. 1
120 Holloway, p. 49
121 *Evening Star* (New Zealand), 9 June 1897, p. 3
122 Ripley, p. 115
123 *ibid.*, p. 112
124 Watermeier, p. 71
125 *ibid.*, p. 108
126 Ripley, p. 140
127 Kemble, Ed., *Julius Caesar*, p. 75
128 Ripley, p. 139

129 *ibid.*, p. 140
130 *New York Times*, 25 December 1875, p. 8
131 *New York Times*, 19 December 1875, p. 7
132 *ibid.*
133 *New York Times*, 2 January 1876, p. 6
134 *ibid.*
135 *ibid.*
136 *ibid.*
137 *New York Times*, 19 December 1875, p. 7
138 *Boston Globe*, 17 November 1875, p. 4
139 *New York Times*, 25 December 1875, p. 8
140 *New York Times*, 26 February 1876, p. 5
141 *New York Times*, 2 January 1876, p. 6
142 *New York Times*, 26 March 1876, p. 7
143 *Era*, 23 April 1876, p. 4
144 *New York Daily Herald*, 13 January 1876, p. 5
145 *ibid.*
146 *Era,* 11 February 1877, p.
147 *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 3 November 1879, p. 6
148 *John Bull*, 23 September 1876, p. 9
149 Coleman, p. 652
150 *ibid*., pp. 652-653
151 *Architect*, 9 September 1876, p. 142
152 *Penny Illustrated Post*, 16 September 1876, pp. 13-14
153 Graphic, 18 November 1876, p. 7
154 *John Bull*, 23 September 1876, p. 9
155 *Morning Post*, 18 September 1876, p. 3
156 *Sporting Gazette*, 7 October 1876, p. 16
157 *ibid.*
158 Jackson, *Designer and Director*, p. 186
159 *Architect*, 23 September 1876, p. 188
160 *Architect*, 30 September 1876, p. 192 quoted in Jackson, *Designer and Director*, p. 189
161 *Architect*, 30 September 1876, p. 194
162 Coleman, pp. 647-648
163 *ibid*., p. 655
164 *Punch*, 30 Sept. 1876.Vol. LXXI, p. 133
165 Coleman, p. 647
166 *ibid*., p. 652
167 *Era*, 8 April 1877, p. 15
168 *Era*, 11 February 1877, p. 1
169 Coleman, p. 113
170 *ibid*., p. 114
171 *Leicester Daily Post*, 18 April 1877, p. 3
172 *Sheffield Independent*, 24 April 1877, p. 1
173 *Era*, 3 June 1877, p. 19

174 *Sheffield Independent*, 29 June 1877, p. 3
175 *Brighton Herald*, 6 October 1877, p. 3
176 *ibid.*
177 *Era*, 2 September 1877, p. 7
178 *Bath Chronicle and Evening Gazette*, 13 September 1877, p. 3
179 *Bradford Observer*, 27 November 1877, p. 3
180 Coleman, p. 658
181 *ibid.*
182 *ibid.,* p. 656
183 *ibid.*
184 Daly, Wilmeth and Cullen, pp. 9-12

## CHAPTER 5 – PART 4 – CALVERT'S SWANSONG - *HENRY VIII* AND BISHOP JAMES FRASER

1 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, pp. 150-151
2 *MEN*, 30 March 1875, p. 2
3 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, pp. 152-153
4 *MEN*, 23 April 1875, p. 2
5 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, pp. 158-159
6 *MT*, 18 August 1877, p. 1
7 *MEN*, 30 August 1877, p. 2
8 *ibid.*
9 Calvert, Ed. *HVIII,* p. iii
10 Kingsley, pp. 42-43.
11 *ibid.*, p. 45.
12 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 22
13 *MEN,* 15 October 1891, p. 2
14 *MT*, 24 October 1885, p. 5
15 Jagger, p. 160
16 *The Builder*, Vol. 97, 1909, p. 564
17 Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 241
18 *ibid.*, pp. 239-240
19 *ibid.*, p. 49
20 Rowell, p. 47 quoted in Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 41
21 Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 43
22 *ibid.*, pp. 43-44
23 *ibid.*, p. 40
24 *Illustrated London News*, 29 March 1862 quoted in Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 44
25 Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 96
26 Hughes, p. 101.
27 *ibid.*, p. 143
28 Diggle, p. 41.
29 *North British Daily Mail*, 6 October 1870, p. 4
30 *Punch*, April 1872.
31 Diggle, p. 41.
32 *ibid.*, p. 47-48.
33 *ibid.*, p. 48.
34 *North British Daily Mail*, 6 October 1870, p. 4
35 *MEN,* 2 December 1875, p. 2
36 *MG*, 18 September 1876, p. 6
37 *MT,* 3 February 1877, p. 5
38 *ibid.*
39 *ibid.*
40 *ibid.*
41 *ibid.*

42 *Exeter and Plymouth Gazett*e, 5 February 1877, p. 2
43 *Eastern Morning News*, 5 February 1877, p. 2
44 *Freeman's Journal*, 5 February 1877, p. 5
45 *Daily Chronicle*, 5 February 1877, p. 2
46 *MG*, 3 February 1877, p. 9
47 *Dublin Evening Telegraph*, 3 February 1877, p. 2
48 *MCLGA*, 6 February 1877, p. 1
49 Letter from the Venerable Henry Fearon, Archdeacon of Leicester in Chetham's Library, Manchester.
50 Letter from the Very Reverend Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster in Chetham's Library, Manchester.
51 *MEN*, 28 February 1877, p. 2
52 *A History of the Shakespeare Memorial Stratford-on-Avon*, p. 32.
53 *MG,* 4 October 1878, p. 6
54 *ibid.*
55 *ibid.*
56 *ibid.*
57 Bettany, p. 102 quoted in Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 169
58 Newey and Roberts, p. 29
59 *ibid.*
60 Bettany, p. 102 quoted in Foulkes, *Church and Stage*, p. 170
61 *MCLGA*, 17 September 1887, p. 5
62 *Church Review*, 5 March 1896 quoted in Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age,* p. 23
63 Foote, pp. 8-9 quoted in Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age,* p. 24
64 Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, p. 24
65 *MCLGA*, 27 January 1894, p. 11

## CHAPTER 6 – THE ACTOR AND THE ARCHITECT

1 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 68
2 *ibid.*, p. 52
3 *ibid.*, p. 53
4 *MG*, 20 December 1872, p. 6
5 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 291
6 *ibid.*, p. 300
7 *ibid.*, pp. 59-60
8 The frieze and panels by Marks were spectacular affairs depicting Shakespearean characters such as Ophelia, Falstaff, Puck, Henry VIII and Richard III. A full description was published in *Manchester Guardian,* 6 August 1869, p. 3
9 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 299
His quote 'who knew not Joseph' is from Exodus 1:8 (King James Version): 'Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.' The implication is that previous Pharaohs had respected Joseph's role in saving their nation, but this new ruler had no knowledge of or concern for his contributions. Here, Darbyshire employs the quote to suggest that Hollingshead did not acknowledge the contributions of his predecessor nor did he choose to follow his successful methods.
10 *ibid.*, p. 300
11 *ibid.*, p. 191
12 *ibid.*, p. 300
13 *Era*, 8 December 1878, p. 6
14 Jackson*, Victorian Theatre*, p. 46
15 Davis, *Economics*, p. 84
16 Rees, p. 185
17 *ibid.*, pp. 186-187
18 *ibid.*, p. 189
19 Davis, *Economics*, p. 72
20 Walton
21 "Theatre Burning and Theatre Building". *The Building News and Engineering Journal*, Volume XIV, 13 December 1867, p. 859
22 *ibid.*
23 Emden, p. 223
24 *ibid.*
25 Parkinson-Bailey, p.124
26 *MCLGA,* 20 December 1884, p. 5
27 Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage*, p. 197
28 *Era*, 13 December 1884, p. 15
29 *ibid.*
30 *Stage*, 12 December 1884, p.9
31 *Era*, 13 December 1884, p. 15
32 *MCLGA,* 11 December 1884, p. 6
33 Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage*, p. 197

34 *ibid.,* p. 197
35 *ibid.,* p. 196
36 *MT*, 13 December 1884, p. 6
37 *Era*, 13 December 1884, p. 15
38 *ibid.*
39 Darbyshire, *An Architect's Experiences*, p. 301
40 *ibid.*, pp. 301-302
Darbyshire does not attempt to date this meeting but it is possible to arrive at an approximation. Irving appeared in Manchester in *Faust* at the Theatre Royal from 19 to 28 September 1887 followed two nights as Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice*. Therefore, the meeting described by Darbyshire must have taken place during September 1887, a time which lies between the fire at Exeter and the publication of the plan.
41 *Daily Telegraph*, 29 October 1887, p. 3
42 *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 8 October 1889, p. 3
43 *Era*, 2 June 1888, p. 14
44 *MCLGA,* 15 September 1887, p. 1
45 *Daily News*, 19 October 1888, p. 3
46 *ibid.*
47 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 October 1888, p. 5
48 *Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 8, no. 8, Transactions 1892, Appendix A
49 *ibid.*
50 *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 8 October 1889, p. 3
51 *ibid.*
52 *ibid.*
53 Founded in November 1888 and based at 8 Deansgate in Manchester, the Titancrete Company manufactured columns, floors, ceilings and partition walls using concrete moulded around lattice work frames made of iron and steel. These structures could not catch fire and would retain their structural integrity in the event of fire. Their stage curtains derived their fireproof property from an admixture of asbestos. *The Scotsman*, 24 November 1888, p. 2
54 *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 12 October 1889, p. 8
55 *MG*, 10 September 1889, p. 4
56 *Era*, 16 May 1891, p. 18
57 *Building News and Engineering Journal,* Volume 58, 24th January 1890, p. 132
58 *ibid.*
59 *Era*, 28 October 1897, p. 11
60 Report of the Select Committee on Theatres and Places of Entertainment, *passim* hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510023137811. Accessed 20 July 2021.
61 King, p. 54
62 Ervine, pp. 34-35
63 Irving, p. 5

## CHAPTER 7 – MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE AFTER CALVERT

1 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years,* pp. 177-178
2 *MEN*, 17 June 1879, p. 2
3 *Sporting Chronicle*, 19 June 1879, p. 3
4 Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years,* p. 178
5 *Sporting Chronicle*, 19 June 1879, p. 3
6 Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage,* p. 73
7 *ON THE DECLINE OF THE SHAKESPEREAN DRAMA*. *MCLGA*, 12 May 1888, p. 10
8 Calculated by the use of a variety of search criteria in the British Newspaper Archive and newspapers.com
9 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 171
10 *MCLGA*, 22 December 1883, p. 14
11 *MCLGA*, 4 October 1886, p. 8
12 *MCLGA*, 29 May 1888, p. 8
13 *MCLGA*, 9 November 1891, p. 5
14 Davis and Emeljanow, p.136
15 McCourt, p. 196
16 *MCLGA*, 7 February 1893, p. 5
17 Clement Scott, *The Ibsen Folly*, *Truth,* 19 March 1891: 601 cited in Davis, *Theatre Journal*, p. 451
18 Clement Scott, review of *Ghosts*, *Illustrated London News,* 21 March 1891: 390 cited in Davis, *Theatre Journal*, p. 451
19 Davis, *Theatre Journal*, pp. 449-450
20 *ibid*., p. 448
21 *MCLGA*, 4 February 1893, p. 1
22 *ibid.*
23 *MCLGA*, 12 November 1892, p. 10
24 Bullock, p. 362
25 Davis, *Theatre Journal*, pp. 451-452
26 Bullock, p. 361
27 *ibid*., p. 367
28 *MCLGA*, 21 February 1893, p. 3
29 *MCLGA*, 22 February 1893, p. 5
30 *MCLGA*, 23 February 1893, p. 5
31 *MCLGA*, 7 March 1893, p. 5
32 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, p. 171
33 *MCLGA*, 14 October 1893, p. 1
34 *MCLGA*, 20 October 1893, p. 5
35 *MCLGA*, 20 October 1893, p. 2
36 *MCLGA*, 23 October 1893, p. 8
37 *MCLGA*, 28 October 1893, p. 1
38 *MCLGA*, 20 October 1893, p. 1
39 *MCLGA*, 3 November 1894, p. 2

40 *MCLGA*, 13 February 1895, p. 1
41 *MCLGA*, 23 February 1895, p. 17
42 Schoonderwoerd, p. 116
43 *MCLGA*, 14 March 1898, p. 5
44 *MCLGA*, 16 March 1898, p. 7
45 *MCLGA*, 5 December 1893, p. 5
46 Darbyshire, *The Art of the Victorian Stage,* p. 73
47 *ibid.,* p. 75
48 *MCLGA*, 4 February 1896, p. 8
49 *MCLGA*, 18 February 1896, p. 8
50 *MCLGA*, 22 February 1896, p. 17
51 *MEN*, 15 February 1897, p. 1
52 Rostron, p. 315
53 *ibid*., p. 318
54 *MCLGA*, 28 December 1898, p. 8
55 *MCLGA*, 6 January 1900, p. 13
56 *MCLGA*, 5 January 1901, p. 13
57 *MCLGA*, 2 July 1883, p. 8
58 *MCLGA*, 10 November 1883, p. 9
59 *MCLGA*, 3 January 1885, p. 9
69 *MCLGA*, 3 January 1885, p. 9
61 *MCLGA*, 26 January 1888, p. 2
62 *MCLGA*, 20 July 1883, p. 8
63 *MCLGA*, 1 August 1883, p. 2
64 *MCLGA*, 13 December 1884, p. 1
65 *MCLGA*, 8 March 1887, p. 2
66 *MCLGA*, 5 March 1890, p. 4
67 *1 Henry VI* 2.1.59-60 quoted in *MCLGA*, 5 August 1890, p. 1
This is a deliberate misquotation to include the word ‘watches’. The correct quote would be ‘Improvident soldiers, had your watch been good.’
68 Holderness, p. 266
69 *ibid*., p. 274
70 *MCLGA*, 8 May 1876, p. 8
71 *MCLGA*, 9 June 1877, p. 8
72 *MCLGA*, 25 October 1881, p. 5
73 *MCLGA*, 15 January 1881, p. 1
74 *MCLGA*, 26 October 1883, p. 6
75 *MCLGA*, 3 January 1885, p. 14
76 *MCLGA*, 24 August 1880, p. 7
77 *MCLGA*, 24 December 1881, p. 16
78 *MCLGA*, 3 November 1894, p. 14
79 *Manchester Literary Club Quarterly*, Volume 5, 1879: 230.
80 Matthews, p. 77
81 Simkin
82 Bleyer, p. 358

83 Alexander Ireland Collection. Manchester Central Library. www.manchester.gov.uk/directory_record/212359/alexander_ireland_collection/category/1367/view_all_collections Accessed 7 May 2021.
84 Fenwick, p. vii
85 *ibid.*, p. 3
86 *ibid.*, p. 52
87 *ibid.*, p. 53
88 *MCLGA*, 21 November 1894, p. 6
89 Dickinson
90 *MCLGA*, 21 November 1894, p. 6
91 *MCLGA*, 21 November 1894, p. 1
92 *MCLGA*, 21 November 1894, p. 6
93 Letter to Irving from Benson dated [1891?]. Henry Irving Correspondence 1838-1905. Henry Irving Centenary Foundation Project.
Document Holder: THM (Reference: THM/37/7/16); Ref. No: 473
www.henryirving.co.uk/correspondence.php?pageNum_rs_corr=50&totalRows_rs_corr=324&search=actor. Accessed 2 May 2022.
94 *MC*, 20 January 1891. p.6
95 *MEN*, 14 February 1891, p. 2
96 *MEN*, 30 March 1895, p. 4
97 *People*, 16 February 1930, p. 16
98 *MT*, 18 February 1898, p. 5
99 *MC*, 26 November 1898, p. 18
100 *Empire News and The Umpire*, 12 February 1899, p. 8
101 *MEN*, 6 December 1901, p. 5

## CHAPTER 8 – ROSA GRINDON AND FEMINIST SHAKESPEARE

1 Grindon, *Shakspere Flora*, p. vii
2 *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine*, 1888, 18, p. 278
3 *Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine*, 1889, 20, p. 286
4 Thompson and Roberts, p. 138
5 Raikes, p. 351
6 *The Great Miss Lydia Becker: Suffragist, Scientist And Trailblazer*. Chetham's Library. 2022. library.chethams.com/blog/the-great-miss-lydia-becker-suffragist-scientist-and-trailblazer. Accessed 29 March 2021.
7 *Women Artists*. Manchester Academy of Fine Arts. 2020. mafa.org.uk/women-artists. Accessed 28 April 2022.
8 Loudermelk
9 *New Moral World* quoted in Herbert
10 *Letter from Lydia Becker to Charles Darwin, 22 December 1866*. University of Cambridge. Darwin Correspondence Project. 2020. www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-5316.xml. Accessed 29 March 2022.
11 L. Becker to Mr. Acworth, Letter Book, 1868, p. 404 (n.d.), Women's Suffrage Collection, Manchester Central Library Archives. This contains letters sent in 1868 as secretary of the Manchester National Society for Women's Suffrage.
12 *Morning Advertiser*, 28 March 1864, p. 7
13 Blackburn, p. 35
14 Becker, p. 404
15 Blackburn, p. 35
16 Parker, p. 633
17 *Collectors*. Herbology Manchester. 2016. herbologymanchester.wordpress.com/collectors-2. Accessed 6 July 2022.
18 *MCLGA*, 28 March 1896, p. 8
The speech from *Henry VIII* 2.4 was presumably Katherine of Aragon's great public speech of self-vindication but the newspaper archive does not confirm this. The pastorale was from the music by Edward German to Forbes-Robertson's production of *Romeo and Juliet* at the Lyceum in 1895.
19 *Birkenhead News*, 16 May 1896, p. 5
20 *Gentlewoman*, 12 June 1897, p. 55
21 *MT*, 3 June 1898, p. 7
22 *ibid.*
23 *ibid.*
24 *MG*, 7 April 1897, p. 12
25 *MG*, 13 September 1897, p. 6
26 *MG*, 2 March 1897, p. 4
27 *Woman's Signal*, 18 August 1898, p. 6
28 *Queen*, 22 October 1898, p. 37
29 *MT*, 11 November 1898, p. 7
30 *MT*, 6 October 1899, p. 7

31 Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women*, p. 154
32 Knox, p. 223 quoted in Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women*, p. 2
33 *MT*, 6 October 1899, p. 7
34 *MG*, 6 October 1899, p. 12
35 *MG*, 9 November 1900, p. 9
36 *MCLGA*, 1 November 1900, p. 5
37 *Era*, 3 November 1900, p. 15
38 *ibid.*
39 *MT*, 12 October 1900, p. 9
40 *MT*, 14 December 1900, p. 9
41 *MCLGA*, 19 March 1902, p. 6
42 *MEN*, 8 January 1893, p. 4
43 Grindon, *Merry Wives*, p. i
44 *ibid.*
Grindon's work on *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was the first to be written by a woman about this play for some time. Elizabeth Griffith had included it in her *The Morality of Shakespeare's Drama Illustrated* (1775) and Henrietta Lee Palmer described Mistresses Ford and Page in her *The Stratford Gallery* (1859).
45 Thompson and Roberts, p. 213
46 *ibid.*
47 *ibid.*, p. 212
48 Wedgwood, *Contemporary Review*, March 1893, pp. 356-368 quoted in Thompson and Roberts, p. 217
49 Thompson and Roberts, p. 138
50 Raikes, p. 208
51 Scheil, p. 19
52 Marshall and Poole, Vol. 2, pp. 185-186
53 Marshall, *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 218-219
54 Shaughnessy, p. 81
55 Marshall, *Shakespeare and Victorian Women*, p. 4
56 Grindon, *Merry Wives*, p. 44
57 Gervinus, p. 378 quoted in Grindon, *Merry Wives*, p. 44
58 Grindon, *Merry Wives*, p. 44
59 *ibid.*, p. 24
60 *ibid.*, p. 43
61 *ibid.*, p. 42
62 *ibid.*, p. 44
63 Fitz, p. 68

## CHAPTER 9 – THE LEGACY OF MANCUNIAN SHAKESPEARE

1 *Builder*, 25 May 1901, p. 7
2 Ewen, p. 295
3 *ibid*., p. 289
4 *ibid*., p. 296
5 *ibid*., p. 301
6 *ibid*., p. 306
7 *Manual of Safety Requirements in Theatres and Other Places of Public Entertainment*
8 Holloway, pp. 108-109
9 Foulkes, *Performing Shakespeare*, pp. 172-173
10 *MEN*, 8 January 1903, p. 4
11 *MCLGA*, 11 January 1906, p. 10
12 *MCLGA*, 10 January 1907, p. 10
13 *MCLGA*, 30 December 1908, p. 8
14 *MCLGA*, 6 January 1910, p. 3
15 *MCLGA*, 29 January 1915, p. 5
16 Invitation card in GB127 – Autograph Letters: Mrs Leo Grindon Collection. Manchester Central Library.
17 *A New Shakespeare Society*, pamphlet reprinted from the Manchester City News.
18 Fishwick, pp. 117-132
19 *ibid.*, pp. 347-365
20 Ben Iden Payne to the Manchester papers (11 July 1907); cited in Pogson, *Miss Horniman*, p. 22
21 Pogson, *Miss Horniman*, p. 26
22 *ibid.*, p. 42
23 *ibid.*, p. 46
24 Quoted in Pogson, *Miss Horniman*, p. 47
25 Lindfors, p. 242
26 *ibid.*, p. 241
27 Hoyles, p. 26

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## PROMPTBOOKS

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Shakespeare in Performance: Prompt Books from the Folger Shakespeare Library, www.shakespeareinperformance.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FSL_HENRY_V_Hen_V_3.
Prompt book for Charles Calvert's New York production in 1875. Includes properties, stage business and cues for effects.
Accessed 27 August 2022 via the UK Access Management Federation function.

MND 14. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Prompt Book With Notes and Instructions. Manchester.
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Prompt book likely to have been made for a Phelps's production with Charles Calvert at Manchester. Includes scenic indications, stage business and cues for effects.
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Prompt book owned by Warren and Wood and checked for the character of the King. Lightly marked in pencil. Letter in the front from Charles Kemble to Frederick Reynolds states that the book was annotated in J. P. Kemble's own hand for representation.
Accessed 30 August 2022 via the UK Access Management Federation function.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Excluded from these notes are personalities such as Henry Irving and Ira Aldridge whose biographies have been well documented elsewhere. I have instead provided details of figures referred to in this thesis whose contributions and activities have not been as widely acknowledged in the existing literature.

Achurch, Janet (17 January 1863, Chorlton-on-Medlock – 11 September 1916, Ventnor)
Actor and actor manager. In 1889, she took over management of the Novelty Theatre in London and played one of her most notable roles as Nora in the English premiere of Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. Her maternal grandparents, James and Mary Achurch, managed the Theatre Royal in Manchester.

Alley, Peter Bradshaw (c. 1811, Manchester – 20 October 1904, Southport)
Architect. Alley attended the Architectural Drawing Class at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute before establishing his architectural practice at 1 Cross Street in Manchester. Alfred Derbyshire was his pupil between 1856 and 1860.

Alleyn, Edward (1 September 1566, Bishopsgate – 25 November 1626, London)
Impresario, entrepreneur and actor. As a member of the Lord Admiral's Men, he played Marlowe's great roles including Faustus and Tamburlaine. By 1600 he was the owner and manager of the Fortune Theatre having retired from acting until Queen Elizabeth, reputedly, insisted on his return to the stage. In 1604, Alleyn and Henslowe acquired the patent for the Mastership of the Bears, Bulls, and Mastiff Dogs.

Allison, James (1831, Sydney – 12 January 1890, San Francisco)
Australian theatre manager. In 1876, Allison became lessee of the Queen's Theatre in Sydney and arranged for Rignold to visit Australia and New Zealand with his production of *Henry V*. The two men founded Her Majesty's Theatre in Sydney, which opened on 10 September 1887.

Alma-Tadema, Sir Lawrence (8 January 1836, Dronrijp – 25 June 1912, Wiesbaden)
Painter. Born Lourens Alma Tadema. He trained at the Academy of Antwerp and settled in England in 1870. A classical-subject painter, he was famous for his depictions of the luxury and decadence of the Roman Empire, with languorous figures set in fabulous, marbled interiors or against a backdrop of the Mediterranean sea and sky.

Anson, George Henry Greville (20 February 1820, Marylebone – 9 February 1898, Winchester)
Clergyman. Anson was educated at Eton College and Exeter College, Oxford and ordained in 1843. After a curacy at Leeds Parish Church he became the incumbent at St. James, Rusholme before serving as Archdeacon of Manchester from 1870 to 1890.

Arthur, Joseph (1848, Centerville, Indiana – February 20, 1906)
American playwright. Born Arthur Hill Smith. He became known for his melodramatic plays which contained unusual and sensational scenes. His first successful play, *The Still Alarm*, opened in New York City in August 1887 and dazzled audiences with a scene set in a fire station in which fire fighters slide down a pole and prepare the fire engine and its horses. In 1890, he followed up that success with *Blue Jeans* with its famous scene in a sawmill in which the unconscious hero is placed on a board approaching a circular saw. Arthur was a shrewd businessperson and at the time of his death his plays were being performed by a dozen touring companies.

Ashpitel, Arthur (14 December 1807, Hackney – 18 January 1869, Westminster)
Architect. Ashpitel worked on a wide range of projects including churches, houses and schools and wrote widely on architecture, literature and politics. He became a fellow of the Institute of British Architects in 1841 and the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1847. His 1867 *Treatise on Architecture* was a valuable resource for students of architectural history, practice and technology.

Anning-Bell, Robert (14 April 1863 – 27 November 1933, London)
Artist and illustrator. From the mid-1890s Bell became increasingly successful as a book designer and illustrator. Later he branched out into mosaic and stained glass, gaining public commissions such as the façade of the Horniman Museum, the mosaic tympanum at Westminster Cathedral and the mosaic panels in the Central Hall of the Palace of Westminster. In 1911, he resumed teaching at the Glasgow School of Art and was later appointed Professor of Design at the Royal College of Art. He became a Royal Academician in 1922.

Auguste et Cie.
Theatrical costumiers of Paris with a British base at 27 Wellington Street in London, off the Strand, in the heart of the city's theatreland.

d'Aulnoy, Marie-Catherine (c. 1650, Barneville-la-Bertran – 14 January 1705, Paris)
French writer of historical fiction. Born Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville. She invented the term *conte de fée* or fairy-tale when she published her collection of them in 1697-1698. She was married at the age of thirteen to a gambler thirty years her elder. Having unsuccessfully tried to have him killed, she spent a brief period in prison and then travelled around Spain and England for more than a decade, working reputedly as a French spy. In 1690, she returned to Paris, where she opened a salon and became France's foremost fairy-tale author.

Bailey, Charles (18 June 1834, Coventry – 14 September 1924, Torquay)
Botanist. Bailey worked as a cashier for the Ralli Brothers, shipping merchants, for fifty-five years until 1908. From 1861 he collected botanical specimens from all parts of the British Isles for his herbarium, amassing over 300,000 items. He became a member of the Scientific Students' Association and in 1867 founded the Manchester Scientific Students' Microscopical Club. In 1879, he took on the role of Secretary for the Botanical Exchange Club and in 1899 he founded the Manchester Field Club.

Bailey, Sir William (10 May 1838, Pendleton – 22nd November 1913, London)
Businessperson. In 1866, he became proprietor of the Albion Works in Salford which his father, John Bailey, had established in 1838. He was elected to Salford Borough Council in 1874 and became Mayor in 1893. He was one of the promoters of the Manchester Ship Canal and in 1894 he was knighted by Queen Victoria on the Royal Yacht when Her Majesty opened the canal. He was at various times the President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, the Manchester Reform Club, the Manchester Association of Engineers, the Manchester Shakespeare Society, the Manchester Dickens Fellowship, the Manchester Field Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Society and as a Governor of the John Rylands Library.

Bangs, Francis 'Frank' Cannon. (October 1837, Alexandria, Virginia – 12 June 1908, Atlantic City)
American actor. He first appeared on the stage in November 1851 at the Old National Theatre, Washington, DC and his career ran parallel with those of Forrest, Booth and Barrett. After serving as a Confederate soldier in the Civil War, he joined Edwin Booth in New York as a leading man, playing Shakespearean roles such as Lear, Othello, Marc Antony and Shylock. He retired in 1907.

Barras, Charles M. (1826 – 31 March 1873, Cos Cob, Connecticut)
American theatre manager and playwright. In 1861, he became manager of Pike 's Opera House in Cincinnati. In 1866, Jarrett and Palmer's production of Barras's *The Black Crook* at Niblo's Garden ran for 465 consecutive nights and enabled Barras to earn $250,000 which was achieved by holding the nationwide copyright and claiming a royalty for each performance.

Barrett, Lawrence (4 April 1838, New York – 20 March 1891, New York)
American theatre manager and actor. During the Civil War he managed a theatre in New Orleans and there played for the first time Hamlet and Shylock. In 1867, he moved to San Francisco to manage the California Theatre and three years later he moved to New York joining forces with Booth and acting with him at his Booth's theatre for the next decade. During the latter part of the 1880s, he worked with Booth in a succession of Shakespearean revivals.

Barrett, Wilson (18 February 1846, Chelmsford – 22 July 1904, London)
Manager, actor and playwright. Born William Henry Barrett. Barrett was adept at managing multiple theatres at once including the Theatre Royal in Hull (1877-1891), the Grand Theatre in Leeds (1878-1894) and the Princess's Theatre in London (1881-1886). His career encompassed acting, writing and theatre management and he continually toured Great Britain, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. His most well-regarded work, *The Sign of the Cross*, enjoyed 435 performances at London's Lyric theatre in 1896-1897.

Beale, Dorothea (21 March 1831, London – 9 November 1906, Cheltenham)
Educational reformer, author and suffragist. After various teaching appointments in continental Europe and Britain, in 1858 she was appointed Principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College. The college had opened four years previously as a day school but, by the time Beale arrived, attendance had dropped significantly. Beale transformed the school into one of the most prestigious in England but it remained highly exclusive. In 1893, she provided funds to establish St Hilda's Hall, Oxford so that those training to be teachers could spend a year in the city. Beale supported women's suffrage but, being careful not to appear an extremist, she took cautious steps to improve education for women.

Becker, Lydia Ernestine (24 February 1827, Chadderton – 18 July 1890, Aix-les-Bains)
Suffragist and botanist. In January 1867 Becker convened the first meeting of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee, the first organisation of its kind in England. On 14 April 1868, at the first public meeting of the National Society for Women's Suffrage in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, Lydia proposed that women should be granted voting rights on the same terms as men. The following year, she successfully secured the vote for women in municipal elections. In 1870, she founded the Women's Suffrage Journal, the most popular publication relating to women's suffrage in nineteenth century Britain. Five years later, she founded the Ladies' Literary Society in Manchester.

Behrens, Walter Lionel (c. 1861, Chorlton – 15 February 1913, Manchester)
Shipping merchant and collector of Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, Japanese *objets d'art* and Jacobean furniture.

van Belcamp, Jan (1610, Antwerp – 24 December 1653, St Martin-in-the-Fields, London)
Painter and copyist. Served as Surveyor of the King's Pictures (1640 – 1649) and, following the execution of Charles I, he was appointed Commissioner for the Sale of the Late King's Goods (1649 – 1651).

Bellhouse, Edward Taylor (10 October 1816, Manchester – 13 October 1881, Southport)
Builder and engineer. In 1842, he and his father, David Bellhouse jnr., established E.T. Bellhouse and Co. at the Eagle Foundry on Whitworth Street in Manchester. In 1847, his company supplied nine cast iron bridges to the Manchester South Junction and Altrincham Railway. The company grew into an international business, becoming the world's foremost supplier of prefabricated iron buildings. These were much needed in America, where the Californian gold rush led to a huge demand for temporary accommodation and warehousing.

Bennett, James (c. 1816 – 9 March 1885, London)
Tragedian. A long-time member of the company at the Theatre Royal in Birmingham and famed for his performances as Othello and Iago.

Bert, Frederick William (1844, Philadelphia – 3 May 1911, New York)
American theatre manager. Bert was the initial lessee of Wade's Opera House in San Francisco which opened on 17 January 1876 with a production of *Snowflake! and the Seven Pygmies.* Bert claimed at the time of its opening that it was the largest theatre in the country.

Bethune, John Elliot Drinkwater (12 June 1801, Ealing – 12 August 1851, Kolkata)
He served as Counsel of the Home Office and drafted many important reforms including the Municipal Reform Act and the County Courts Act. In 1848, he was appointed as a member of the Supreme Council of India and subsequently became the President of the Council of Education. He was the founder of Calcutta Female School (now known as Bethune College), the oldest women's college in Asia.

Beverley, William Roxby (c.1810, Richmond – 17 May 1889, Hampstead)
Scenic artist. The youngest son of the actor-manager William Roxby Beverley (1765-1842), he began his career as a painter of scenery under his father's management of the Theatre Royal in Manchester and by 1846 he had settled in London and was engaged as scenic director at several theatres, notably at Covent Garden and Drury Lane.

Beyer, Charles Frederick (14 May 1813, Plauen, Germany – 2 June 1876, Llantysilio, Wales)
German engineer. Born Carl Friedrich Beyer. Upon completing his studies at the Dresden Academy, he took a job in an engineering works in Chemnitz and obtained a grant from the government of Saxony to visit the United Kingdom to report on weaving machine technology. He was co-founder of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers and co-founder and head engineer of Beyer, Peacock and Company in Gorton. A philanthropist and deeply religious, he founded three parish churches and their associated schools in Gorton, was a governor of the Manchester Grammar School and was the single biggest donor to what later became the University of Manchester.

Booth, Junius Brutus (22 December 1821, Charleston – 17 September 1883, Manchester-by-the-Sea, Massachusetts)
American actor and manager. He managed the Boston, Walnut Street, Winter Garden and Booth’s Theatres in New York. Though a relatively undistinguished actor. he was highly regarded for his performances as King John and as Cassius in *Julius Caesar*. In 1864, he performed *Julius Caesar* alongside his brothers Edwin as Brutus and John Wilkes (the assassin of Abraham Lincoln) as Mark Antony.

Boucicault, Dion, Jnr. (23 May 1859, New York – 25 June 1929, Berkshire)
Actor and director. Born Darley George Boucicault, son of Dion Boucicault and actor Agnes Robertson. Known generally as Dot, he made his stage début in his father's play, *Louis XI*, at Booth's Theatre in New York City on 11 October 1879 and from then he was constantly on the stage either acting in or directing productions. In 1885, he visited Australia with his father and inaugurated his lesseeship of Her Majesty's Opera House in Melbourne the following year. He returned to Britain in 1896 but toured Australia several times in the 1920s.

Bridges, George Matthew (c. 1854, King's Lynn – 14 October 1929, Mutford)
Scenic artist. Having been apprenticed for eight years to a hosiery and outfitting business, he then started business as a scenic artist and became a successful decorator of bazaars for religious, educational and philanthropic societies around Britain.

Bright, Jacob (26 May 1821, Rochdale – 7 November 1899, Goring-on-Thames)
Chartist and radical politician. He was the first mayor of Rochdale on the town's incorporation as a municipal borough and served as a Member of Parliament for Manchester between 1874 and 1895. He was the leader of the suffragist movement in Parliament. He introduced his last bill in the Commons on women's suffrage in 1878, promoting full franchise, including married women, rather than the more limited enfranchisement of widows and single women.

Bright, John (16 November 1811, Rochdale – 27 March 1889, Rochdale)
Parliamentary reformer and politician. The son of a Quaker textile manufacturer, he worked for his father in his Rochdale mill after leaving school and soon became involved in local political causes favoured by nonconformists. Bright was a noted public orator, speaking out against the Corn Laws around the country in the years leading up to their repeal in 1846. As well as his support for free trade, Bright was most associated with campaigns for parliamentary reform. He had a lengthy career as a Member of Parliament for Durham, Manchester and Birmingham from 1843 until 1889.

Brougham, John (9 May 1810, Dublin – 7 January 1880, New York)
Theatre manager and playwright. He studied surgery before moving to London and making his stage début in the Tottenham Street theatre production of the operatic extravaganza *Tom and Jerry*, in which he played fourteen characters. For twelve years from the age of twenty, he made a career on the stage before moving to America in 1842. With the exception of Dion Boucicault, he was the most prolific playwright of the nineteenth century, writing 126 dramatic pieces during his thirty-three-year career in the United States. At the end of his career he was completely impoverished, the result of the failure of his management at theatres such as London's Lyceum and his undisciplined approach to financial affairs, being content to receive a box of cigars as payment for his *The Duke's Motto* (1870).

Browne, Rawdon Lubbock (25 January 1806, London – 25 August 1883, Venice)
Historian and antiquary. He came to Venice in 1833 and spent the rest of his life there in the study of Italian history, especially in its relation to English history. He wrote *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII* (1854), basing his research on the despatches of Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador in London at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. The new light which this book threw on the relation of the Venetian archives to English history induced Lord Palmerston in 1862 to commission him to document those Venetian state papers which related to English history. His great work, *A Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives of Venice and Northern Italy* in six volumes, was published between 1864 and 1886.

Browne, George Harrie 'Boston' (9 October 1826, Boston, Massachusetts – 27 October 1877, Manchester)
American fabric merchant and theatre owner. He first came to Manchester in 1856 as a partner in White, Browne and Co. Ltd of New York and Boston. His success was based on his ability to anticipate demand for designs of printed fabric, purchasing the entire output of those designs from mills for months in advance thereby creating an effective monopoly and enabling him to sell the cloth at a profit to himself. In 1868, he purchased £1000 worth of shares in the Prince's Theatre Company Limited and in 1873 he became its sole proprietor.

Bullock, Reverend Charles (c. 1829, Cumberland – 23 September 1911, Eastbourne)
Clergyman and writer. Ordained in 1855 to the curacy of Rotherham and in 1860, Bishop Pepys appointed him as rector to St. Nicholas', Worcester. He held this post for fourteen years, during which period the church was restored at a cost of more than £3000 and a rectory house built. He edited religious magazines such as *The Fireside*, *Home Words*, *The Day of Days* and *Hand and Heart* and wrote many religious works such as *Hugh Stowell: a Life and its Lessons.*

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward George Earle, 1st Baron Lytton of Knebworth
(25 May 1803, London – 18 January 1873, Torquay)
Politician, poet and novelist. He entered Parliament as Liberal member for Lincoln in 1831. In 1841, he retired in protest against the repeal of the Corn Laws. In 1852 he returned to the House as Tory member for Hertfordshire. Having started as a novelist with *Pelham*, he embarked on a series of historical novels, the most notable of which were *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1834) and *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings* (1848). He portrayed English society in *The Caxtons* (1849) and *My Novel* (1853). He also published several volumes of poetry and an epic, *King Arthur* (1848)

Butler, Richard. 2nd Earl of Glengall (17 May 1794 – 22 June 1858)
Irish politician. In 1818, Glengall was elected Member of Parliament for Tipperary. On 1 September 1829, he was elected as an Irish representative peer and took his seat in the House of Lords on the Tory benches in February 1830.

Byron, Joseph (January 1847, Nottingham – 28 May 1923, New York)
Photographer. His family had been involved in commercial photography for three generations. He emigrated to the United States in 1888 and opened a studio on Manhattan in 1892 specialising in the photography of stage productions.

Capon, William (6 October 1757, Norwich – 26 September 1827, Westminster)
Scenic artist and draughtsman. John Kemble employed Capon as scene painter for his Drury Lane Theatre. In later years he was engaged as an architectural draughtsman known for his depictions of historic buildings and for his survey of the Old Palace of Westminster between 1793 and 1823.

Carré, Michel (20 October 1821, Besançon – 27 June 1872, Argenteuil)
French playwright. His 1850 play, *Faust et Marguerite*, was the source of Charles Gounod's opera *Faust* which premiered in Paris in 1859. Later he was co-librettist for Bizet's *The Pearl Fishers* and with Jules Barbier for Gounod's operas *Faust* and *Romeo et Juliette*.

Cassidy, John (1 January 1860, Littlewood Commons, Ireland – 19 July 1939, Manchester)
Irish sculptor and painter. He studied at the Manchester School of Art from 1883, winning medals and prizes for his modelling. He established a studio, initially in Manchester's Barton Arcade then in Chorlton-on-Medlock, where all his major works were conceived. He exhibited at the Royal Academy and Manchester City Art Gallery, becoming the Honorary Treasurer of the Manchester Academy of Fine Arts. In 1887, he was engaged to give demonstrations in modelling from life at the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition.

Cellier, Alfred (1 December 1844, London – 28 December 1891, London)
Composer, orchestrator and conductor. Initially a church organist, he moved to Ireland to become director of Ulster Hall concerts in Belfast. In 1871, he transferred to the Royal Court Theatre in London and then the following year to the Prince's Theatre, Manchester where he remained until 1876. It was at the Prince's Theatre that he wrote his early operettas - *The Sultan of Mocha*, *The Tower of London* and *Nell Gwynne*. Cellier composed many of the curtain-raisers that accompanied the early Savoy operas and assisted Sullivan in the overtures for *The Sorcerer* and *HMS Pinafore*.

Chester, Francis (8 October 1811, London – 27 December 1881, Chelsea)
Architect. In 1830, he came to Manchester and was employed by John Gould Irwin, land surveyor and valuer, as an assistant. After the destruction by fire of the Theatre Royal in 1844, Knowles selected Chester as his architect for the new building in Peter Street. He was the first Master of the Manchester School of Design and the formation of the first Manchester Academy was largely attributable to Chester's efforts.

Close, Doctor Francis (c. 1797 – 18 December 1882, Penzance)
Clergyman. In 1826, he went to Cheltenham as curate to the Reverend Charles Jervis and in 1851 he became Dean of Carlisle, which position he resigned in August 1881 on account of ill-health. At Carlisle he established a dispensary and several schools and churches.

Courtneidge, Robert (29 June 1859, Glasgow – 6 April 1939, Brighton)
Actor and theatre manager. Courtneidge began his theatrical career as an amateur actor in Scotland before winning supporting roles at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, then with the Charles Dillon and Barry Sullivan companies. From 1896 until 1902 he was manager of the Prince's Theatre and between 1898 and 1902 manager of the Theatre Royal.

Cowdroy, William (c. 1775 – 10 March 1822, Manchester)
Businessperson and newspaper editor. On the death of his father in 1814, William became the editor of the *Manchester Gazette*. Selling only 250 copies weekly, Cowdroy engaged his non-conformist friends in the Little Circle to contribute articles. Archibald Prentice, John Shuttleworth and John Edward Taylor all became regular columnists and by 1819 the *Gazette* was selling over one thousand copies a week. It closed in 1829, failing to compete against the radical *Manchester Guardian*.

Craven, Hawes (3 July 1837, Leeds – 22 July 1910, Brockley)
Scenic artist. Born Henry Hawes Craven Green. He worked with William Roxby Beverley at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in London. From 1862 to 1864 he was principal scene-painter at the Theatre Royal, Dublin. In 1871, he joined the Lyceum and his career was boosted with the arrival of Irving in 1878. He rented the Lyceum scene-loft for his studio and there he painted for other managers such as in September 1902 when he painted two scenes for the revival of *As You Like It* at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester. In 1905, he was elected president of the Scenic Artists' Association.

Crestadoro, Andrea (1808, Genoa – 7 April 1879, Manchester)
Academic and librarian. He was educated in Genoa before studying for his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Turin from where, in 1849, he left his position as Professor of Philosophy to come to England to further his interest in mechanical devices. He took out patents for a metallic balloon, a reform of the tax system and a horse-powered railway locomotive. From 1864 until 1879 he was Chief Librarian of the Manchester Free Library where he was given the task of creating a catalogue. He is credited with being the first person to propose that books could be catalogued by using keywords that did not occur in the title of the book.

Creswick, William (27 December 1813, Covent Garden – 17 June 1888, Lambeth)
Actor and theatre manager. His first appearance in London was in 1835 at the Queen's Theatre. In 1849, Creswick and his partner, Richard Shepherd, took over the management of the Surrey Theatre. Creswick managed the theatre until his retirement from management in 1862. He continued to act and toured Australia and America in the 1870s. He was a founder member and governor of the Shakespeare Memorial Association in Stratford-upon-Avon.

Daly, John Augustin (20 July 1838, Plymouth, North Carolina – 7 June 1899, Paris)
American theatre manager. In 1856, he began his career as manager by hiring a hall and offering without financial backing a variety of productions. In 1859, he became the drama critic for the *New York Sunday Courier*. On 17 September 1879, he opened Daly's Theater on Broadway. His own plays broke new ground and among the most influential was *Under the Gaslight* (1867), a realistic melodrama that first presented the last-minute rescue from the railway track. Adaptations were his *forte*, especially from French and German plays. Daly was the first to take an American company on tours to England, Germany and France and to establish a theatre abroad - Daly's Theatre - which opened in Leicester Square, London on 12 March 1893.

Davenport, Edward Loomis (15 November 1815, Boston, Massachusetts – 1 September 1877, Canton, Pennsylvania)
American actor. One of the most skilled and popular American actors of the mid-nineteenth century. During a six-year stay in England that began in 1847, he acted in *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Othello* to great critical acclaim. In 1854, he returned to the United States, where for twenty years he continued to play a wide range of roles until failing health halted his career.

Davenport, Ira Erastus (17 September 1839, Buffalo, New York – 8 July 1911, New York); Davenport, William Henry Harrison (1 February 1841, Buffalo, New York – 1 July 1877, Sydney, Australia)
American magicians. The Davenport brothers were famous for deceptively claiming that their illusions had a supernatural origin. They began performing in 1854, less than a decade after the Spiritualism movement had taken off in America, and their most famous effect involved the brothers being tied up inside a large box containing several musical instruments. Once the box was closed, the instruments were made to sound. Upon opening the box, the brothers were found tied in the same positions in which they had started the illusion. Those who witnessed the effect were encouraged to believe that supernatural forces had been at work.

Davies, Sarah Emily (22 April 1830, Southampton – 13 July 1921, Hampstead)
Suffragist. Davies had considered studying medicine but devoted herself instead to helping women obtain the opportunities that had been denied to her. In 1865, she joined with her friends Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Barbara Bodichon, Dorothea Beale and Francis Mary Buss to form a woman's discussion group called the Kensington Society. The following year the group formed the London Suffrage Committee and organised a petition asking Parliament to grant women the vote. With the help of other feminists, she raised enough money to purchase Benslow, a house two miles outside Cambridge. In 1873, Benslow House was opened as Girton College.

Davis, Henry Winter (16 August 1817, Annapolis – 30 December 1865, Baltimore)
American politician. United States Representative serving Maryland’s third and fourth congressional districts, a unionist during the secession crisis, a critic of Abraham Lincoln, and co-author of the Wade-Davis congressional plan for reconstruction during the American Civil War.

Dutton, Bessie (8 November 1847, Liverpool – 21 November 1919, Moore)
Teacher, poet, artist and suffragist. As well as being a Sunday School teacher at Moore Methodist church, she worked for the British Women's Temperance Association, the Railway Mission, the Police Christian Mission, the Bible Society and the Women's Liberal Association who participated in the fight for women's suffrage.

Emens, Homer Farnham (9 May 1862, Volney, New York – 15 September 1930, Carmel).
American scenic artist. Started his career as an apprentice at the Madison Square Theatre in New York then spent several years at the Chestnut Tree Theatre in Philadelphia before working at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York where he renewed the scenery for all its operas and prepared the stage picture for the first production of Parsifal in the United States. In 1890, he designed the scene in Joseph Arthur's *Blue Jeans* in which the unconscious hero is placed on a board approaching a buzz saw in a sawmill.

Everard, Reverend George (4 June 1828, Spalding – 6 June 1901, Finchley)
Evangelical clergyman. Educated at Manchester Grammar School, he worked as a clerk at the Manchester and Salford Bank and then in a warehouse before embarking on a career in the church. He was ordained in 1852, and took curacies in Ramsgate, Marylebone, Hastings and Ipswich before spending sixteen years as vicar of St. Marks's in Wolverhampton. Strongly on the evangelical side of the Church of England, he saw the theatre as sinful – 'What perils arise through neglect of God's day, through bad company, novel reading, the ball room and the theatre…'. He was a prolific author, writing some forty books about family life and worship.

Fairbairn, Sir Thomas (18 January 1823, Manchester – 12 August 1891, Bishopstoke)
Industrialist and art collector. Fairbairn worked in his father's businesses from 1840 and took charge of the firm's shipbuilding operation in Millwall. After a tour of Italy in 1841-1842, he started to use his wealth to collect works of art. He commissioned paintings by Edward Lear and sculptures by Thomas Woolner. Fairburn was a commissioner of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London and chairperson of the Executive Committee that organised the 1857 Art Treasures Exhibition in Manchester. From 1860, he participated in a project to establish a free art gallery in Manchester which opened as the City Art Gallery in 1882.

Fairbairn, Sir William (19 February 1789, Kelso – 18 August 1874, Farnham)
Civil engineer and shipbuilder. He advanced the understanding of material strengths and properties which he applied to the design of multi-storey iron-framed mills, wrought iron ships and bridges. Fairbairn oversaw the construction of a thousand bridges but his major innovation was in the design, testing and manufacture of iron bridges made from long riveted tubular section girders. George Stephenson employed this technique in his construction of the Conwy (1848) and Britannia (1850) railway bridges.

Fearon, Venerable Henry (20 June 1802, Cuckfield – 12 June 1885, Loughborough)
Clergyman. Fearon spent many years as a teacher before being offered the living of All Saints Parish, Loughborough in February 1848. He was the driving force behind social and environmental reforms, including education for children of all classes, the betterment of workers and the construction of reservoirs and waste treatment plants to bring clean, piped water to the town.

Fechter, Charles Albert (23 October 1824, London – 5 August 1879, Quakertown, Pennsylvania)
Anglo-French actor. He began his stage career in Paris, first achieving success in amateur circles before joining the Comédie Française. Having taught himself English, he returned to London in 1860, performing at the Princess's before taking over the lease of the Lyceum in 1862. He alternated between London and Parisian theatres before sailing to America in 1870 where, after a brief tour, he opened at Niblo's Garden in New York as Ruy Blas in *Hamlet* and John Brougham's *The Duke's Motto*. He retired from acting in 1877.

Feval, Paul Henri Corentin (29 September 1816, Rennes – 8 March 1887, Paris)
French novelist and dramatist. Although most famous for his swashbucklers, *Le Loup Blanc* (1843) and *Le Bossu* (1857), it is his novel *Jean Diable* (1862) that can claim to be the world's first modern detective novel. In it, Scotland Yard Chief Superintendent Gregory Temple is mystified by the actions of a gifted crime leader who hides behind the identity of John Devil.

Froude, James Anthony (23 April 1818, Dartington – 20 October 1894, Kingsbridge)
Historian, novelist, biographer and travel writer. His large literary output spanned fiction, religion, philosophy, biography, history, hagiography and travel writing. His scandalous novel, *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849), prompted his exit from an Oxford Fellowship in disgrace. He travelled to Australia in 1885 and after his return to England he published *Oceana; or England and her Colonies* (1886) with the aim of promoting imperial federation.

Furnivall, Frederick James (4 February 1825, Egham – 2 July 1910, London)
Philologist. Furnivall joined the Philological Society in 1847 and served as its Honorary Secretary from 1853 until his death, in which capacity he laid the foundations for the Oxford English Dictionary. He was founder of a series of literary and philological societies including the Early English Text Society, the Chaucer Society and the New Shakespeare Society. He was also a leader in the move for popular education, supported women's rights and taught grammar at the London Working Men's College founded in 1854.

Garcia, Edward (c. 1845 – 7 January 1893, Poplar)
Theatre manager. Manager of the Comedy Theatre, Manchester from 1884 until 1889 and of the Tivoli Theatre and Grand Circus during the 1880s. He was declared bankrupt owing £6000 in 1890, following the failure of the Princess's Music Hall in Leeds. He died in poverty and obscurity in Grove Hall asylum, Bow.

Gordon, George (c. 1839, Edinburgh – 12 June 1899, Millers Point, New South Wales)
Scenic artist. He learned his craft from his father at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh. His first pieces were for the Prince of Wales Theatre in Edinburgh where he made the acquaintance of George Rignold. Acting on Rignold's advice, he accepted an offer of employment in Australia from Arthur Garner. He came to Australia with Garner's London Comedy Company in June 1879 where he lived and worked until his death.

Grein, Jacob Thomas (11 October 1862, Amsterdam – 22 June 1935, London)
Impresario and drama critic. His most radical achievement was founding the Independent Theatre Society in 1891 which was the first of several companies run on a private, subscription basis to bypass the Lord Chamberlain's censorship. Its first production was Ibsen's *Ghosts*. Grein was involved with other similar ventures, such as the Stage Society (1899), the London German Theatre (1901), the French Players (1917) and the People's Theatre (1923).

Grieve, Thomas (11 June 1799, Lambeth – 16 April 1882, Lambeth)
Scenic artist. The elder son of John Henderson Grieve, he was trained by his father and collaborated with him at Covent Garden and elsewhere from 1817. From 1846 to 1859, he worked at Drury Lane, Covent Garden and at Her Majesty's Theatre but is best known for the leading role he played among the team of scene-painters who supplied Charles Kean at the Princess's Theatre from 1850 to 1859, particularly in the Shakespearean revivals of that period.

Grieve, Thomas Walford (15 October 1841, Lambeth – 11 August 1899, Clapham Park)
Scenic artist. The son of Thomas Grieve, he trained and collaborated with his father from around 1862. He worked at Covent Garden with him and at the Lyceum.

Habbe, Alexander Christian (22 April 1829, Elsinore, Denmark – 14 April 1896, Melbourne)
Danish scenic artist and cartoonist. Habbe came to Australia in 1855 to seek his fortune in the Victorian goldfields but instead became a scenic artist at Melbourne’s Theatre Royal. Between 1860 and 1864, he supplied Sydney’s Royal Victoria Theatre and later the Royal Adelphi. Although he settled in Melbourne in 1872, he nevertheless supplied occasional scenes for Sydney theatres, including the Opera House. During his career Habbe collaborated with other leading scenic artists including W.J. Wilson and John Little.

Hann, Walter (11 January 1838, London – 16 July 1922, Wandsworth)
Scenic artist. He was responsible for the scenery at numerous theatres throughout England from the mid-1860s up to his death in 1922, combining his stage work with work as an easel painter. He had studios in Murphy Street near Lambeth Walk in London.

Headlam, Reverend Stewart Duckworth (12 January 1847, Wavertree – 18 November 1924, Twickenham)
Clergyman. He was ordained as a deacon in 1870 and in 1873 became curate at St Matthews Church, Bethnal Green. Disturbed by the appalling living conditions of his parishioners, Headlam used his sermons to criticise social injustices. He presented Jesus Christ as a revolutionary but when the Bishop of London heard about this, he threatened him with dismissal. Headlam refused to change his views and in 1878 he was sacked. He championed the performing arts and in 1879 founded the Church and Stage Guild to promote closer links between the church and the theatre. In 1885, when Oscar Wilde was tried for 'gross indecency' Headlam supported the writer, even though he did not know him personally, and guaranteed half of his £5,000 bail.

Heywood, Abel (25 February 1810, Prestwich – 19 August 1893, Bowdon )
Printer and radical politician. His early life was one of poverty and hardship, marked by a prison term in his pursuit of a free press. A campaigner for universal suffrage and social reform, Heywood attempted to enter Parliament twice, but his working-class origins and radical ideas proved insurmountable obstacles. As councillor and mayor, he worked tirelessly to build the road, railway and tram systems, develop education, improve the provision of hospitals, museums and libraries and improve the living conditions of the poor.

Heywood, James (28 May 1810, Manchester – 17 October 1897, London)
Barrister, Member of Parliament, philanthropist and social reformer. In 1835, he became the first president of the Manchester Athenæum and was also a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. Heywood was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in February 1839. He served as Liberal Member of Parliament for North Lancashire from 1847 to 1857. He campaigned for free libraries, museums and art galleries, university entrance for dissenters and university degrees for women. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society and served as their President from 1875 to 1877.

Heywood, Oliver (9 September 1825, Irlams O' Th' Height – 17 March 1892, Manchester)
Banker and philanthropist. Heywood joined the family business, Heywood's Bank, in 1845. He sponsored many philanthropic causes including the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Chetham's Hospital, Manchester Grammar School and Owens College. He was selected as High Sheriff of Lancashire for 1888.

Holding, Frederick (c. 1817, Whalley – 7 January 1874, Chorlton-upon-Medlock)
Scenic artist. He created illustrations for books including Southey's *Battle of Blenheim* in 1864. In his later years, he was a scenic artist at the Theatre Royal and the Prince's Theatre in Manchester.

Hollingshead, John (9 September 1827, Hoxton – 9 October 1904, London)
Journalist, author, theatre manager and producer. He began his career in 1854 working for Charles Dickens at *Household Words* magazine before moving to *Cornhill* magazine under William Makepeace Thackeray. In the 1860s he became manager of the Alhambra Theatre in Leicester Square and the Gaiety Theatre on the Aldwych. In 1877, he became manager of the Prince's Theatre in Manchester. He returned to writing in the 1880s, mainly about the theatre.

Holloway, William John (4 February 1843, London – April 1913, Clapham Common)
Australian actor and stage manager. He came with his family as a child to New South Wales and began his working life as a boilermaker in the 1850s before his theatrical career began in 1862 with the Redfern Amateur Dramatic Club. By 1872 Holloway had assembled a touring company which had great success in Australia playing Shakespeare alongside melodrama. The Holloways settled in England in April 1889 and he returned to the stage in 1892 in *King Lear* at the Lyceum and toured South Africa three times.

Houldsworth, Sir William Henry (20 August 1834, Ardwick – 18 April 1917, Kilmarnock)
Mill owner and Conservative Member of Parliament for Manchester North West from 1883 to 1906. Houldsworth built Reddish Mill, completed in 1865, then the largest cotton-spinning mill in the world, and built a model village to house the workers.

Hunt, Henry (6 November 1773, Upavon – 15 February 1835, New Alresford)
Radical politician and orator. Hunt was a prosperous gentleman farmer from Wiltshire who became prominent in the fight for political reform. On 16 August 1819, 60,000 people gathered on St Peter's Field in Manchester to hear him speak but the magistrates sent in the local yeomanry and soldiers to arrest Hunt and the other speakers and disperse the crowd. Hunt was found guilty in March 1820 of unlawful and seditious assembly and sentenced to two and a half years in Ilchester jail. In December 1830, he was elected MP for Preston. He continued to call for justice for the victims of Peterloo, presented countless petitions on behalf of impoverished workers and introduced a Parliamentary bill supporting women's suffrage.

Ireland, Alexander (9 May 1810, Edinburgh – 7 December 1894, Withington)
Printing works owner and newspaper proprietor. During his years in Edinburgh, he formed friendships with many leading British writers of the day – William Hazlitt, James Leigh Hunt, Thomas Carlyle, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Charles and Mary Lamb. He came to Manchester in 1843 and in 1846 he became publisher and business manager of the *Manchester Examiner*.

Irving, Laurence Henry Forster (11 April 1897, Bloomsbury – 23 October 1988, Ashford, Kent)
Writer, painter and art director for the stage and film. He was the author of a biography of his grandfather, *Henry Irving, the Actor and his World*.

Irwin, John Gould (c. 1804, Manchester – 21 June 1866, Manchester)
Land surveyor and architect. Around 1840, he formed a business partnership with Francis Chester, who had been Irwin's assistant from around 1830.

Jameson, Anna (c. 1795, Dublin – 17 March 1860, Ealing)
Writer, feminist and art historian. Born Anna Murphy. Her *Characteristics of Women* (1832) was the first attempt by a woman to analyse the characteristics of twenty-three female heroes of Shakespeare's plays. At the time of its publication, male critics wrote little if anything about female characters in theatrical productions. Jameson discussed what being a woman really meant as compared to providing descriptions of feminine and masculine stereotypes and contemporary expectations of women.

Jarrett, Henry Clay (c. 1828, Baltimore – 13 October 1903, London)
American actor and theatre manager. In 1851, he bought the Baltimore Museum, before becoming manager of the National Theatre in Washington, D.C. He then worked in several theatres in the United States and became manager of the Boston Theatre in 1864. In the mid-1860s, Jarrett established a partnership with Harry Palmer which produced the hugely successful Broadway show *The Black Crook* in 1866.

Jebb, Richard (c. 1874 – 25 June 1953, Ellesmere, Shropshire)
Journalist and author in the fields of Empire and nationalist sentiment in the colonies. His first and most influential book, *Studies in Colonial Nationalism* (1905), aimed to provide a true account of opinion towards Great Britain in the self-governing colonies.

Jones, George 'Count Johannes' (10 May 1810, London – 30 December 1879, New York)
Anglo-American actor, author, journalist, and litigator. By 1829 he was performing regularly at the Tremont Theatre in Boston and he played leading roles in the New York theatres. After 1836 he became increasingly egotistical and litigious, attempting to become a part-time lawyer, while his acting career ended in ridicule.

Kenworthy, Charles (c. 1790, Dukinfield – c. 1869, Dukinfield)
Poet. Known as the Bard of Dukinfield, a benefit was held in his honour at the Mechanics' Institute in Stalybridge on 30 November 1865.

Knowles, James Sheridan (12 May 1784, Cork – 30 November 1862, Torquay)
Irish dramatist and actor. His first success was *Caius Gracchus*, produced at Belfast in 1815 while his *Virginius*, written for William Charles Macready, was first performed in 1820 at Covent Garden. In *William Tell* (1825), Knowles wrote for Macready one of his favourite parts. His best-known play, *The Hunchback*, was produced at Covent Garden in 1832.

Lambert, George (c. 1700, Kent – 30 November 1765, Covent Garden)
Landscape and scenic artist. As a scene-painter he worked first for the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in London under John Rich. When Rich moved to Covent Garden Theatre, Lambert reputedly produced scenery of a far higher quality than any previously executed.

Laroche, Martin (15 September 1814, Lambeth – 10 November 1886, Birmingham)
Photographer. Born William Henry Silvester. Laroche was noted for his photographs of actors taken in his studio, for example Charles Kean and Ellen Terry as Leontes and Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale* dated 26 April 1856.

Leblanc Granger (? – ?)
French maker of model and life-size suits of armour and armorial devices. E. Granger of 70 Rue de Bondy (now Rue René Boulanger) in Paris first exhibited armorial models in 1844 in the Exposition des Produits de l'industrie Française in Paris. He later showed his work, as part of the firm of Granger-Leblanc, at the London International Exhibition on Art and Industry in Kensington in 1862. Granger also made full-sized armours for Madame Tussaud's waxwork figures and for stage use by the Paris Opéra and was also listed as a maker of gilt jewellery, bronzes and occult objects.

Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler, 1st Baron Lingen
(19 February 1819, Birmingham – 22 July 1905, London)
Barrister, Secretary to the Education Office from 1849 to 1869 and Permanent Secretary to the Treasury from 1869 to 1885. On his retirement he was raised to the peerage as Baron Lingen of Lingen in the County of Hereford.

Little, John (? – ?)
Australian scenic artist. Little established a studio in the Melbourne suburb of Carlton around 1870 and between 1872 and 1882 was largely associated with Melbourne's Theatre Royal. His business, known as John Little and Sons from 1895, supplied stage scenery up until at least the late 1910s.

Loder, Edward James (10 July 1809, Bath – 5 April 1865, London)
Composer and conductor. Having studied in Germany for two years, in 1828 he was appointed music director of London's Princess's Theatre and, from 1851 as musical director of Manchester's Theatre Royal.

Lloyd, Abraham Evans (c. 1825, Salford – 2 February 1899, Worsley)
Chemical manufacturer. He was a partner in the firm of Higgin, Lloyd and Company. He was elected to Manchester council in 1882 and served as Lord Mayor from 1894 until 1896. During his Lord Mayoralty, he instituted a relief fund to help those affected by the severe winter of 1894 and in the same year established similar assistance for the victims of the Armenian atrocities.

Lloyds, F. (? – ?)
Scenic artist. He created scenery for Kean at his London's Princess's Theatre, for example *The Shower of Gold* for *Henry V*, *The Trial* for *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Dance of the Fairies* for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He also authored *A Practical Guide to Scene Painting and Painting in Distemper* (1883).

Mansfield, Richard (24 May 1857, Berlin – 30 August 1907, New London, Connecticut)
Actor and theatre manager. He first appeared on the stage at the St. George's Hall, London and then joined Richard D'Oyly Carte's Comedy Opera Company in 1879. His career as a theatrical manager in America began in 1886 and in 1889, he produced *Richard III* at the Globe Theatre in New York. He was best known for the dual role in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*; his performance was of such ferocity that Scotland Yard questioned him in connection with the Jack the Ripper murders in 1888.

Marks, Henry Stacy (13 September 1829, London – 9 January 1898, London)
Artist and illustrator. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853, painting a scene from Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* entitled *Dogberry Examining Conrad and Borachio*. His works during the 1850s and 1860s were predominantly based on Shakespeare's plays and depictions of medieval scenes. He supplemented his income by producing decorative work for various clients including the Minton tile works and by producing illustrations for advertising posters and magazines.

Martin, Theodore (16 September 1816, Edinburgh – 18 August 1909, London)
Poet, biographer, and translator. Martin practised as a solicitor in Edinburgh from 1840 to 1845 after which he became the head of law firm Martin and Leslie in London. His first contribution to literature was the humorous *Bon Gaultier Ballads*. He also worked on translations including Dante's *Vita Nuova* and Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Martin is best known for his *Life of the Prince Consort* (1874-80) which Queen Victoria commissioned him to write. In 1851, he married Helena Faucit, actor and author of studies on Shakespeare's female characters, whose *Life* he published in 1901.

McCullough, John (2 November 1832, Coleraine – 8 November 1885, Philadelphia)
Actor and theatre manager. He made his first appearance on the stage at Philadelphia's Arch Street Theatre in 1857 and played second roles in Shakespearean and other tragedies, often supporting Forrest and Booth. In 1869, in partnership with Lawrence Barrett, McCullough built the California Theatre on Bush Street in San Francisco.

Milner, George (c. 1829, Manchester – 25 December 1914, Bowdon)
Writer and biographer. In business he was chairman of the City News Company and director of a manufacturer of raincoats. He served as President of the Manchester Literary Club from 1879 until his death. Author of several books including *Studies of Nature on the Coast of Arran*, *William Hazlitt* and, with John Howard Nodal, *A Glossary of Lancashire Dialects*.

Mollison, William (27 October 1859, Broughty Ferry – 19 December 1911, Broughty Ferry)
Actor-manager. His first engagement was at Sadler's Wells theatre before spending four years with Benson's Shakespearean Company. He toured America with Irving, was engaged by Tree in London and appeared with Waller in *Henry V*. He was also associated with the part of the old Glasgow merchant Bailie Nicol Jarvie in *Rob Roy*, a part he played over two thousand times. In 1899, he played Philip, King of France, in film version of *King John*.

Moore, George Augustus (24 February 1852, Moore Hall, County Mayo – 21 January 1933, London)
Irish novelist, poet, art critic and dramatist. His willingness to tackle such issues as prostitution, extramarital sex and lesbianism led to his novels being met with disapproval. His first novel, *A Modern Lover* (1885), was banned by the all-powerful circulating libraries. Moore is perhaps best known for *Esther Waters* (1894), a moving story of a single mother whose love for her child helps her triumph over adversity. His first play, *The Strike at Arlingford* (1893), was produced by the Independent Theatre Society in Manchester.

Moore, Reginald (c. 1839, Lincolnshire – 13 October 1880, York)
Actor, playwright and theatre manager. He wrote plays such as the farce *Unblushing Impudence* (1875) and the drama *A Merchant's Venture* (1878). In 1877, he played Henry VIII at the Prince of Wales theatre in Birmingham after illness prevented Calvert from continuing in the role. For the last twelve years of his life, he was general manager of Wilson Barrett's provincial 'Proof' company.

Morrison, Frances (c. 1807, Petworth – 29 August 1898, Salford)
Teacher, feminist and social reformer. Born Frances Cooper. She and her husband, James Morrison, were supporters of the mill owner Robert Owen who promoted a utopian world founded on co-operation rather than competition. In 1833, James became editor of *The Pioneer*, the newspaper of the Owenite trade union movement known as the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. Frances wrote for the paper under the pseudonym, `A Bondswoman'. After her husband's death in 1835, Frances became a lecturer with the Owenite Social Institution.

Morritt, Greta (? – ?)
Actor. In 1901, she founded the British Empire Shakespeare Society to promote Shakespeare's works throughout the Empire by organising reading circles, dramatic readings and costume recitals.

Earl of Mulgrave, Reverend Constantine Charles Henry Phipps, 3rd Marquess of Normanby (29 August 1846, Mulgrave Castle – 25 August 1932, Mulgrave Castle)
Clergyman. Between 1872 and 1890, he was vicar of St. Mary the Virgin in Worsley, Lancashire where he was a progressive clergyman, introducing choral services and a robed choir. Other appointments included Chaplain to All Saints' Church, San Remo (1884 – 1893), Chaplain to the Archbishop of York (1891 – 1897) and Canon of Windsor (1891 – 1907).

Musgrove, George (21 January 1854, Surbiton – 21 January 1916, Sydney)
Theatrical entrepreneur. In July 1882, he became joint lessee of the Theatres Royal in Melbourne and Sydney and in 1892 he jointly founded the new Lyceum Theatre in Sydney. He produced Shakespeare and opera in England and Australia from 1898 until his death.

Nodal, John Howard (19 September 1831, Ardwick – 13 November 1909, Heaton Moor)
Journalist, linguist and dialectician. In 1871, Nodal was appointed editor of the Manchester *City News*. He expanded its coverage to include literature, drama and the visual arts and transformed it into a campaigning newspaper calling for greater accountability within the city administration. He served as Honorary Secretary of the English Dialect Society, Secretary of the Manchester Working Men's College, President of the Manchester Literary Club and Chairman of the Manchester Arts Club.

O'Neill, Arthur (? – ?)
Prominent Manchester Chartist. (Not to be confused with the leader of the Birmingham Chartist Church of the same name). He first came to prominence in 1841 when he was nominated Secretary of the Tib Street branch of the National Charter Association General Council. A critic of the editorial policy of the *Northern Star*, he set up as a Chartist bookseller in Oldham Road, Manchester.

Palmer, Henry 'Harry' (? – 19 July 1879, London)
Businessperson and theatre entrepreneur. As a Wall Street broker, Palmer established a partnership with Henry Jarrett in the mid-1860s which produced the hugely successful Broadway show *The Black Crook* in 1866, the first transcontinental touring theatre show in the U.S.

Parry, Edward Abbott (2 October 1863, London – 1 December 1943, Sevenoaks)
Judge and author. He was Judge of Manchester County Court (1894-1911) and of Lambeth County Court in 1911. He also wrote histories, plays and books for children such as *The First Book of Krab: Christmas Stories for Young and Old* (1897) and *What the Judge Saw: Being Twenty-Five Years in Manchester by One Who Has Done It* (1912).

Panton Ham, Reverend James (30 March 1818, Hackney – 8 October 1902, Belfast)
Clergyman. From 1855 to 1859, he served as the Unitarian minister of Manchester's Cross Street Chapel. Beside writing theological works, such as *The Pulpit and the Stage: Four Lectures*, he also wrote two novels, a play and an anthology of poems.

Payne, Ben Iden (5 September 1881, Newcastle-on-Tyne – 6 April 1976, Austin, Texas)
Actor, director and teacher. Active in professional theatre for seventy years, he helped found, with Annie Horniman, the first modern Repertory Theatre in the United Kingdom and was an advocate, along with Poel, for the Elizabethan staging of Shakespeare plays.

Peacock, Beddoes (c. 1838, Manchester – February 1902, Manchester)
Deputy manager and treasurer at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester from its opening in 1864. From December 1884, he was deputy manager and treasurer to Charles Hermann at the Prince of Wales's theatre in Salford. His father, Henry Barry Peacock, was the lessee of the first Free Trade Hall from 1846 to 1853 and a supporter of the construction of the Prince's Theatre.

Pemberton, Charles Rees (23 January 1790, Pontypool – 3 March 1840, Birmingham)
Actor and lecturer. He was apprenticed to his uncle, a brass founder in Birmingham, but ran away in 1807 to Liverpool, where he was seized by a press-gang and sent to sea. He returned to England in 1827 and commenced his acting career which encompassed many Shakespearean roles. He was engaged by Charles Kemble in 1829 to play Shylock and Virginius  After 1829 he devoted himself mostly to lecturing, his favourite subject being the tragic characters of Shakespeare.

Phipps, Charles James (c. 1835, Bath – 25 May 1897, London)
Theatre architect. His first major work was the rebuilding of the Theatre Royal, Bath in 1862-18633 after the previous theatre had been destroyed by fire. Moving to London, he built the Queen's Theatre (1867), the Gaiety Theatre (1868), the Olympic Theatre (1870) and the Vaudeville Theatre (1871). Phipps's Savoy Theatre (1881) was the first public building in the world lit entirely by electric light. Other major London theatres included the Strand (1882), the Prince's (1884), the Lyric (1888), the Garrick (1889) and Her Majesty's Theatre (1897). In addition he was responsible for over forty theatres in the provinces.

Planché, James Edward (27 February 1796, Piccadilly – 30 May 1880, Chelsea)
Dramatist and antiquary. He wrote, adapted or collaborated on 176 plays in a wide range of genres. In August 1823, in an issue of the *Album*, he published an article saying that more attention should be paid to the time of Shakespeare's plays, especially in the design of costumes. He became an acknowledged expert on historical costume, publishing several works on the topic. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1829 and was instrumental in the foundation of the British Archaeological Association in 1843.

Poel, William (22 July 1852, London – 13 December 1934, London)
Actor, director, and playwright. Poel grew up among Pre-Raphaelite artists and as a boy he posed for William Holman Hunt. After working for a time as an actor, stage manager and theatre manager, he founded the Elizabethan Stage Society which, by holding performances free of scenery and modern staging, approximated the theatrical conditions under which Shakespeare operated.

Ross, David (1 May 1728 – 14 September 1790)
English actor-manager. After early appearances in Dublin, he performed in London at Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and in Edinburgh, where, as actor-manager, he built the Theatre Royal in 1769. After a disastrous season, in 1770 he returned to London and resumed his acting career there until his retirement in 1778.

Rowe, Nicholas (20 June 1674, Little Barford – 6 December 1718, London)
Writer and dramatist. Rowe is considered the first editor to attempt a critical edition of the works of Shakespeare and became the foremost eighteenth-century English tragic dramatist.

Rowley, Charles (c. 1840, Ancoats – 1933, Handforth)
Teacher and councillor. In 1875, he was elected to the city council. Having resigned his teaching post in 1878, he began the Recreation in Ancoats movement which provided music in the local parks and whose Sunday afternoon lectures brought many notable speakers to Ancoats. Rowley became a magistrate in 1893.

Sachs, Edwin Otto (5 April 1870, Marylebone – 9 September 1919, Marylebone)
Architect, engineer and firefighter. While studying architecture in Berlin he worked with the Berlin Royal Fire Brigade. On his return to Britain he became a specialist in the prevention of theatre fires. He served as vice-president of the National Fire Brigades Union and founded the British Fire Prevention Committee. He was the technical advisor to the London Royal Opera House from 1898 until his death.

Scott, Clement William (6 October 1841, London – 25 June 1904, London)
Theatre critic, playwright, lyricist, translator and travel writer. Scott was the dramatic writer for the *Sunday Times* between 1863 and 1865. In 1871, Scott became a theatre critic with the *Daily Telegraph*, a position he held for almost three decades. His position on the *Daily Telegraph* allowed him to pioneer the essay-style review of drama which came to replace the earlier bare notices. Later his own magazine, the *Theatre*, achieved wide circulation.

Schwann, Charles Ernest, 1st Baronet of Prince's Gardens, Kensington
(25 January 1844, Huddersfield – 13 July 1929, Birkdale)
Businessperson and Liberal Party politician. He was president of the Manchester Liberal Federation, the Manchester Reform Club and the National Reform Union. He served as Member of Parliament for Manchester North from 1886 until 1918.

Shaw, Captain Sir Eyre Massey (17 January 1830, Ballymore – 25 August 1908, Folkestone)
Fire brigade leader and author. Shaw was Superintendent of the London Fire Engine Establishment and its successor, the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, from 1861 to 1891. He introduced modern firefighting methods to the Brigade and increased the number of fire stations.

Shepherd, Richard (? – ?)
Actor and theatre manager. In 1848, Shepherd succeeded Alfred Bunn as manager of the Surrey Theatre in Southwark and was soon joined by William Creswick as joint manager. They remained at the theatre until 1869, establishing its reputation for melodrama and pantomime.

Sidebotham, Joseph (c. 1824 – 30 May 1885, Bowdon)
Businessperson and natural historian. Sidebotham was a senior partner in the Strines Printing Company. He formed an extensive natural history collection and was also interested in astronomy, photography, microscopy and painting. He was one of the founders of the Manchester Photographic Society and an active member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, chairing meetings and presenting papers. His interest in natural history led him to become a Fellow of the Linnean Society.

Smith, Frederick Bennett (21 March 1863, Heaton Norris – 1921, St. Asaph)
Architect. In January 1886 he formed a business partnership with Alfred Darbyshire which was responsible for several major projects including the rebuilding of Exeter's Theatre Royal and the Palace of Varieties in Manchester.

Southworth, Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (26 December 1819, Washington, D.C. – 30 June 1899, Georgetown, Washington D.C.)
American novelist. She wrote more than sixty novels in the latter part of the nineteenth century and was the most popular American novelist of her day. The bulk of her work appeared as a serials in the *New York Ledger* and in 1857 Southworth signed a contract to write exclusively for this publication. This contract and the royalties from her novels earned her about $10,000 a year, making her one of the country's best-paid writers. She is best known for the novel *The Hidden Hand*, originally published in the *Ledger* in 1859 and issued as a book in 1888.

Sowler, Sir Thomas (7 July 1818 – 4 April 1891)
Businessperson and newspaper proprietor. His father founded the *Manchester Courier* in 1825 and on his death the business passed to Sowler and his brother John, who predeceased Thomas in 1871. In 1874, he established the *Manchester Evening Mail* and in 1889 he was appointed the first president of the National Association of Journalists. Sowler was a director of the Manchester Royal Exchange and on the board of several other businesses, as well as being involved with the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and the Manchester Natural History Society. He was a co-founder of the Manchester Free Library.

Spong, Walter Brookes (c. 1851, London – 2 March 1929, Nice)
Scenic and watercolour artist. Spong established himself as a scenic artist in London, working at Sadlers' Wells theatre and with Richard D'Oyly Carte's company. He exhibited at the Royal Academy during the early 1880s. He was invited to Australia to be the chief scenery painter for the Bijou Theatre in Melbourne and the Criterion in Sydney. He was a member of the Australian Artists' Association and the Victorian Artists' Society.

Stanley, Very Reverend Arthur (13 December 1815, Alderley Edge – 18 July 1881, London)
Clergyman, scholar and author. He won the Ireland scholarship and the Newdigate prize for an English poem at Oxford University in 1837. In 1839, he was elected a Fellow of University College and in the same year took holy orders. His literary reputation was established by his *Life of Arnold*, published in 1844. His 1847 volume of *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age* marked his future position as a theologian. In 1863, he was appointed to the Deanery of Westminster, a post he held until his death.

Stanley, Ferdinando, 5th Earl of Derby. Lord Strange (1559 – 16 April 1594, Lathom)
Lord Strange's Men was an Elizabethan playing company comprising retainers of the household of Lord Strange. They toured the provinces before appearing at court in 1582. The troupe performed at The Theatre in Shoreditch and at Henslowe's Rose Theatre where they may have staged several Shakespearean plays including *The Comedy of Errors*. Upon the death of their patron in 1594, the group left London to perform in the provinces.

Sullivan, Sir Arthur Seymour (13 May 1842, Lambeth – 22 November 1900, London)
Composer. Sullivan trained at the Chapel Royal, the Royal Academy of Music and the Leipzig Conservatoire. His incidental music to Shakespeare's *The Tempest* made him an overnight celebrity when it was performed at the Crystal Palace in 1862. His collaboration with W. S. Gilbert produced fourteen operas between 1871 and 1896.

Sullivan, Thomas Barry (23 April 1824, Birmingham – 3 May 1891, Brighton)
Actor. Having played minor parts with companies around Britain from 1837, from 1844 Sullivan began to play leading roles, taking the part of Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* and Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Between 1858 and 1868, he visited the United States and Australia and in 1866 he completed a trip around the world. Over the next twenty years Sullivan constantly played in London, the provinces and in the United States. On 4 June 1887 he made his last appearance on the stage, in Liverpool playing Richard III.

Taylor, John Edward (11 September 1791, Manchester – 6 January 1844, Manchester)
Businessperson, editor and publisher. A supporter of moderate reform, from 1815 Taylor was a member of a group of the Little Circle. In 1821, he founded the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper which he edited until his death.

Taylor, Tom (19 October 1817, Bishopwearmouth – 12 July 1880, Battersea)
Academic, civil servant, barrister and dramatist. Variously Professor of English Language and Literature at University College, London, Secretary of the Board of Health, leader writer and critic for several papers, Taylor is best known as a dramatist. He produced about one hundred plays, a substantial portion of which consisted of adaptations from the French or collaborations with other playwrights,

Telbin, William (c. 1812 – 25 December 1873, St. John's Wood)
Scenic artist. Telbin worked at the Haymarket, Drury Lane, Covent Garden and Lyceum theatres. His first major commission was for Macready's *King John* at Drury Lane in 1842. His scenic art was greatly influenced by the paintings of J. M. W. Turner.

Thompson, Alfred (7 October 1831, London – 31 August 1895, New York)
Musical theatre librettist, set designer, costume designer, theatre manager and journalist. Pseudonym Thompson E. Jones. In the 1860s Thompson became successful as a librettist, set designer and costume designer for the British musical theatre in London. For the English stage he designed over five thousand costumes. During the 1870s in Manchester he was managing director of the Theatre Royal and the Prince's Theatre.

Tozer, Alfred (13 June 1831, Southwark – 4 January 1911, Knott End-on-Sea)
Fire brigade superintendent. Tozer joined the London Fire Brigade in 1851 and was for thirty years from 1871 the head of the Manchester Fire Brigade, resigning due to ill-health in 1892.

Vezin, Hermann (2 March 1829, Philadelphia – 12 June 1910, London)
American actor and writer. His London début was at the Princess's Theatre in 1852 and most of his acting was performed in England. He acted in *Dr. Davey* (1866), *Man o' Airlie* (1867), *Son of the Soil* (1872), *As You Like It* (1875) and *Daniel Druce*, which ran for one hundred and six times at the Haymarket (1876) and *Olivia* (1878). He was also known as a teacher of elocution and as a writer.

Vining, George James (1824, London – 17 December 1875, Reading)
Actor and theatre manager. From an acting family, Vining played many Shakespearean roles and in 1862 he became manager of St James's Theatre in London and from 1863 manager of the Princess's Theatre in London.

Voegtlin, William (1850, Basle – 30 May 1892, Boston, Massachusetts)
Scenic artist. He supplied theatres in San Francisco, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans and New York. He specialised in cityscapes, natural scenes, high- and low-style interiors and historicist scenes. His last appointment was as scenery artist for the Globe Theatre in Boston.

Waller, Lewis (3 November 1860, Bilbao – 1 November 1915, Nottingham)
Actor and stage manager. Waller became known, by the late 1880s, for romantic leads, both in Shakespeare and in popular costume dramas. He became actor-manager at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket in the mid-1890s. He starred in the silent film version of *King John* in 1899.

Walker, Thomas (1749 – 1817, Manchester)
Unitarian, cotton merchant and political reformer. He was the organiser of the Manchester anti-slavery group and helped organise the 1788 and 1792 petitions to parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. He helped found the Manchester Constitutional Society which advocated parliamentary reform and equality for dissenters.

Walters, John Cuming (c. 1863, Birmingham – 16 July 1933, Manchester)
Newspaper editor and author. Walters was editor of the *Manchester City News* (1903-1906) and the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (1906-1931). He wrote and edited works on Charles Dickens, Alfred Tennyson and Marie Corelli and on the Bacon-Shakespeare Enigma under the pseudonym Francisco Skepticus. In 1899 he published *The Mystery of Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Attempted Elucidation*. In addition, he was a spiritualist, a vegetarian, an anti-vivisectionist and president of the Manchester Humane Society.

Warner, Neil (5 April 1831, Bury St. Edmunds – 15 June 1904, New York)
Actor. Born William Burton Lockwood. He made his metropolitan début in May 1865 at Sadlers Wells Theatre as Othello. When Jarrett and Palmer produced their revival of *Richard III* at Niblo's Garden, New York, in 1871, Warner was engaged to appear as Richmond to the Gloster of James Bennett, the English tragedian. Warner made his Montreal début on 7 December 1874 as Sir Giles at the Theatre Royal and for the following fifteen years was a citizen of the city. He and his wife opened a school of elocution, as well as directing innumerable amateur performances.

Watson, John Dawson (20 May 1832 – 3 January 1892)
Painter and illustrator. He studied at the Manchester School of Art from 1847 then at the Royal Academy in London from 1851. Between 1859 and 1892, he exhibited 370 works at various venues in London. Watson also produced book and magazine illustrations, notably a series of drawings for John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1861) as well as designs for furniture, medals and theatre costumes.

Webb, William Edward (c. 1862, Manchester – 9 November 1903, Manchester)
Painter of marine scenes. He frequented the ports of Britain, producing an impressive output of scenes celebrating the challenges faced by those who plied their trades on the ocean. He exhibited more than sixty paintings from 1890 to 1904, mostly in his hometown, but also at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool and three times at the Royal Academy in London.

von Weber, Carl Maria Friedrich Ernst (18 November 1786, Eutin – 5 June 1826, London)
German composer, conductor, pianist, guitarist and critic. He served as the Music Director of opera houses in Breslau, Prague, and Dresden. Weber wrote many operas such as *Der Freischütz*, *Euryanthe*, and *Oberon*.

Wedgwood, Frances Julia (6 February 1833 – 26 November 1913, London)
Feminist and writer. Wedgwood wrote about the Classical world, Darwinism, moral philosophy, theology and science as well as literature and history. She was a regular contributor to periodicals such as the *Spectator* and *Contemporary Review*. In her later years she donated extensively to the construction and extension of Church of England churches and was active in the anti-vivisection movement, bequeathing much of her fortune to the cause.

Welldon, James Edward Cowell (25 April 1854, Tonbridge – 17 June 1937, Sevenoaks)
Headteacher and clergyman. Welldon was appointed master of Dulwich College in 1883 having been educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge. He resigned his post in July 1885 to accept the position of headteacher of Harrow School which he held from 1885 to 1898. In 1898, Welldon became a Doctor of Divinity and in the same year was appointed Bishop of Calcutta. From 1906 to 1918 he was Dean of Manchester and from 1918 Dean of Durham.

Wheatley, William (5 December 1816 – 3 November 1876, New York)
American actor. In the spring of 1862 he took over the lease of Niblo's Garden and managed it until the autumn of 1868 when he sold his interest to Jarrett and Palmer, at which point he retired from management and acting.

Younger, Joseph (? – September 1784)
Theatre manager. Younger was a prompter at Covent Garden, whilst also acting at the theatre and regularly touring the provinces. He was joint manager with George Mattocks of Liverpool's Theatre Royal from its opening on 5 June 1772. In 1775, Younger and Mattocks also took over the newly patented Manchester Theatre Royal and ran the two theatres concurrently, sharing the same stock company until 1781 when they began to operate separately.

**Main Sources**

British Newspaper Archive
Newspapers.com
TimesMachine
The Concise Oxford Companion to American Theatre
The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare
Oxford Dictionary of Literary Biography
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
MyHeritage

## ILLUSTRATIONS

## SECTION 1 – THEATRES

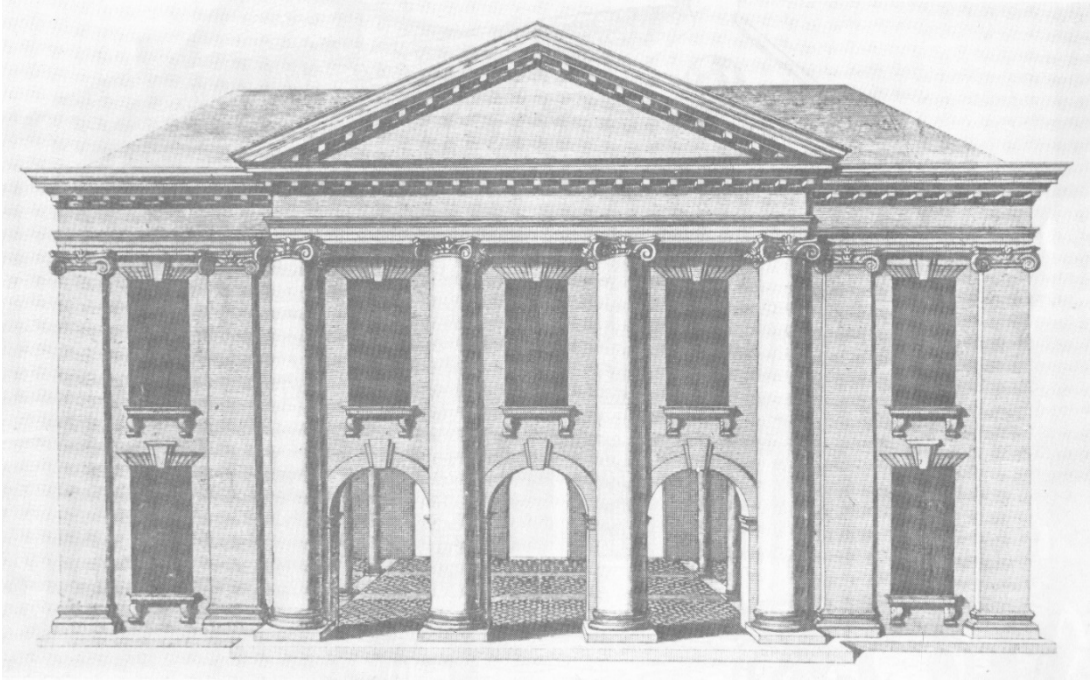


Illustration 1.1 – Manchester's first Royal Exchange, Market Place.
Manchester Local Image Collection m56558

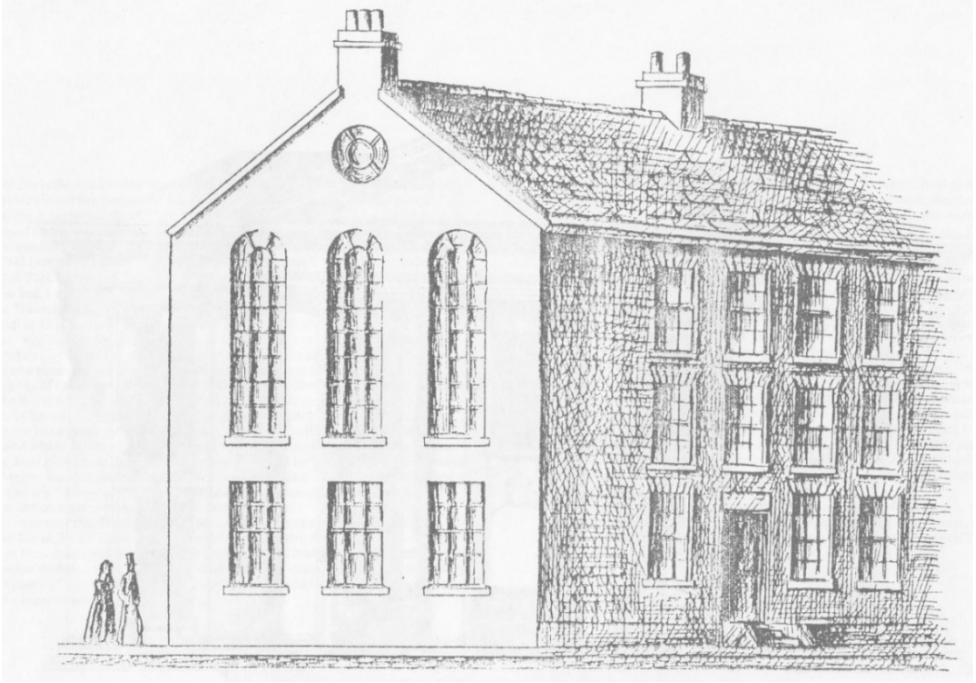


Illustration 1.2 – Marsden Street Theatre.
Manchester Local Image Collection m08490




Illustration 1.3 – First Theatre Royal, Spring Gardens.
Manchester Local Image Collection m06629




Illustration 1.4 – Second Theatre Royal, Fountain Street.
Manchester Local Image Collection m79665




Illustration 1.5 – Gentlemen's Concert Hall.
Manchester Local Image Collection m06469




Illustration 1.6 – Gentlemen's Concert Hall.
Side Entrance on Mosley Street 4 March 1897 showing advertisement for Louis Calvert's *Anthony and Cleopatra* at the Queen's Theatre.
Manchester Local Image Collection n83984

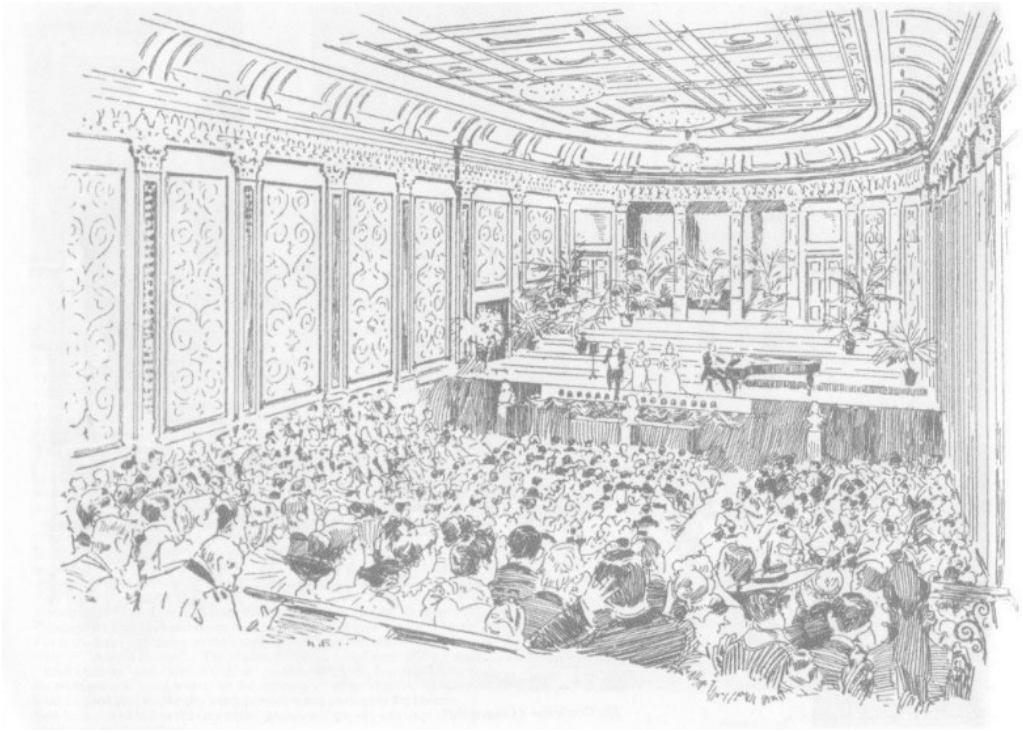


Illustration 1.7 – Gentlemen's Concert Hall Interior
Knowlson, p. 28

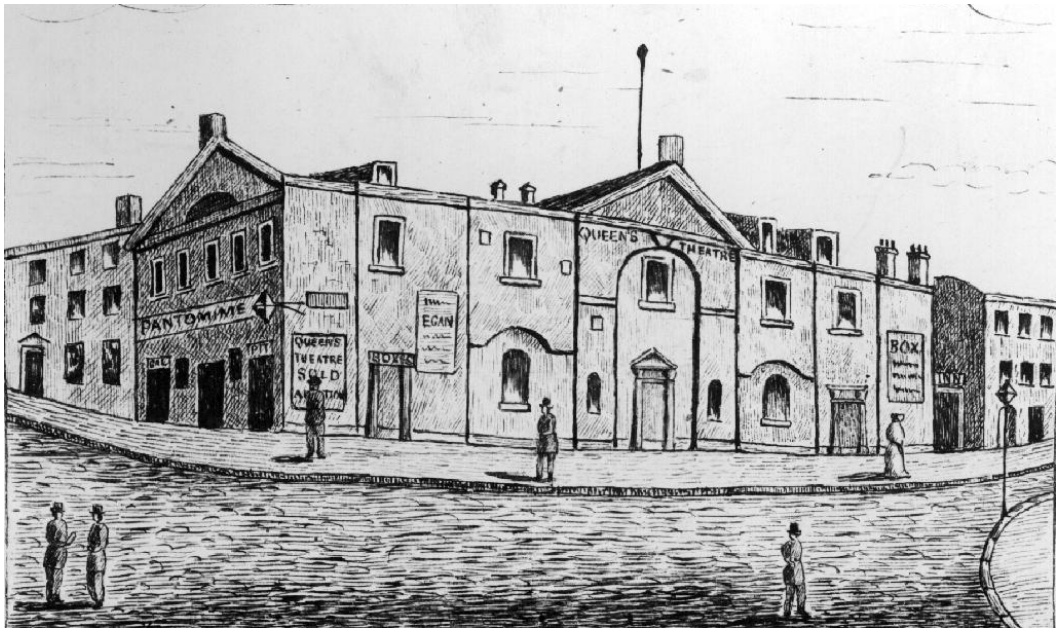



Illustration 1.8 – First Queen's Theatre
Manchester Local Image Collection m06607




Illustration 1.9 – Peter Street with the Third Theatre Royal on the right.
Manchester Local Image Collection m80468

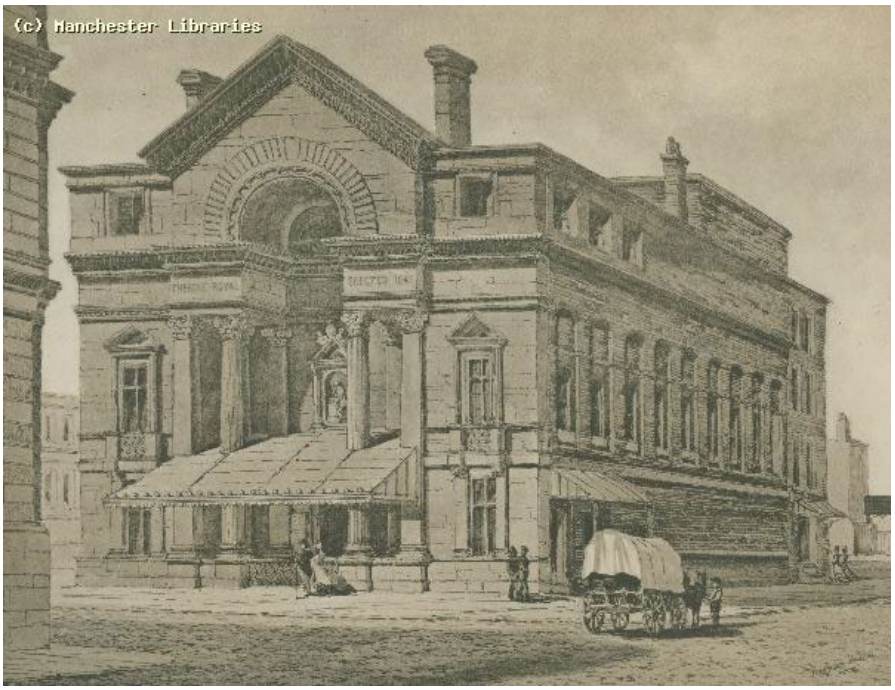



Illustration 1.10 – Third Theatre Royal.
Manchester Local Image Collection m79650

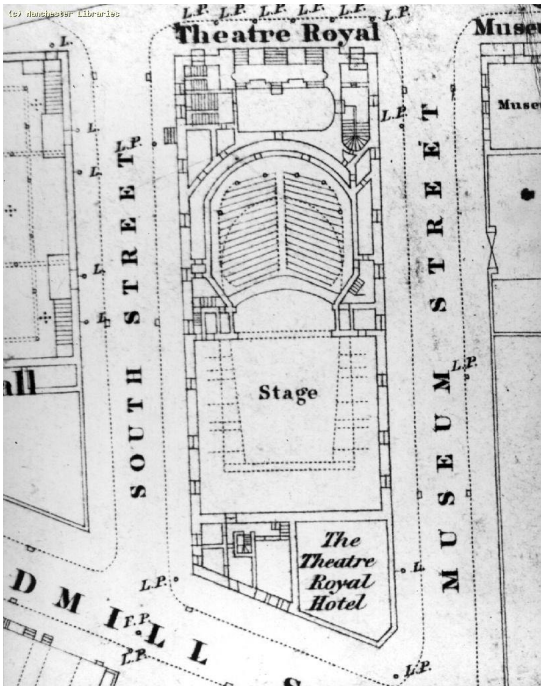



Illustration 1.11 – Site of the Third Theatre Royal.
Manchester Local Image Archive m06630

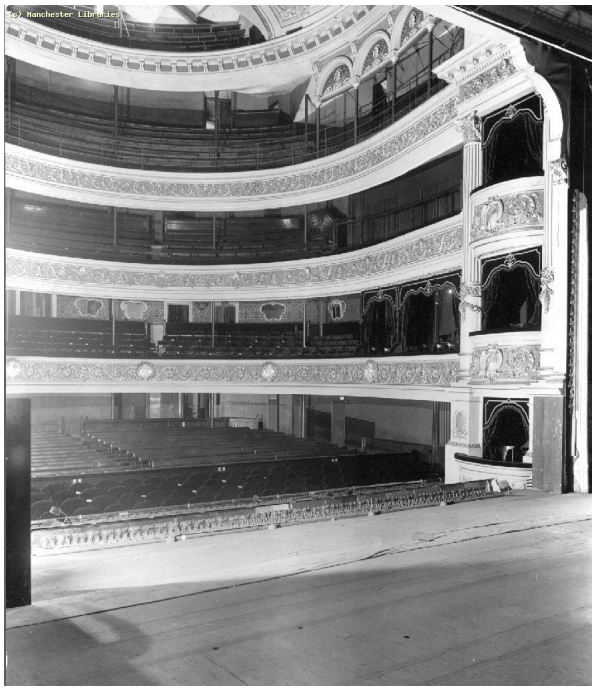


Illustration 1.12 – Interior of the Third Theatre Royal.
Manchester Local Image Collection m06639




Illustration 1.13 – Royal Central Hotel and Cox's Bar at the rear of the Third Theatre Royal.
Manchester Local Image Collection m50430




Illustration 1.14 – Third Theatre Royal – Shakespeare Statue.
Manchester Local Image Collection m06657




Illustration 1.15 – Prince's Theatre 1870
Manchester Local Image Collection m08481

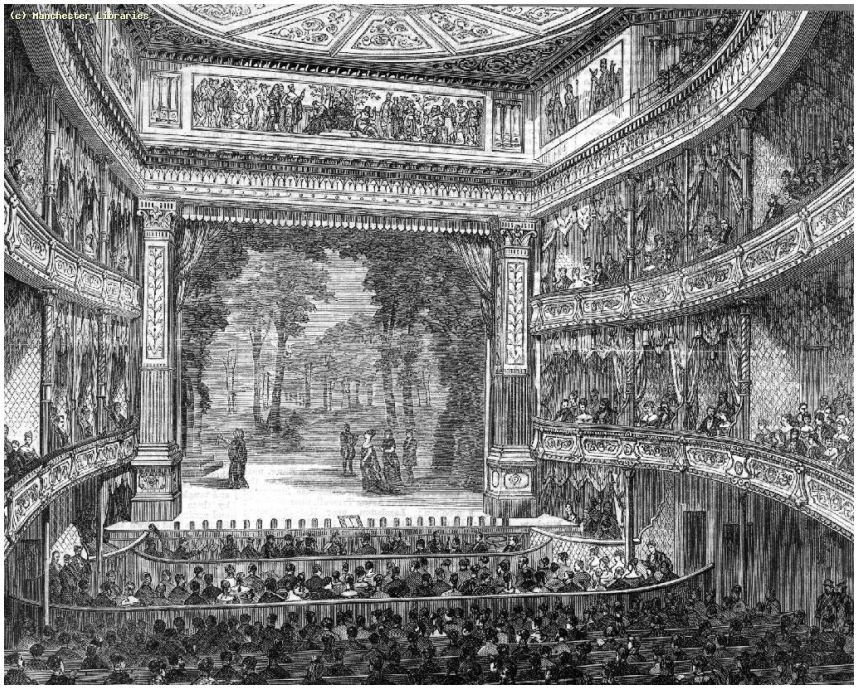



Illustration 1.16 – Prince's Theatre Interior - Scene from *A Winter's Tale,* 1869.
Manchester Local Image Collection m06590

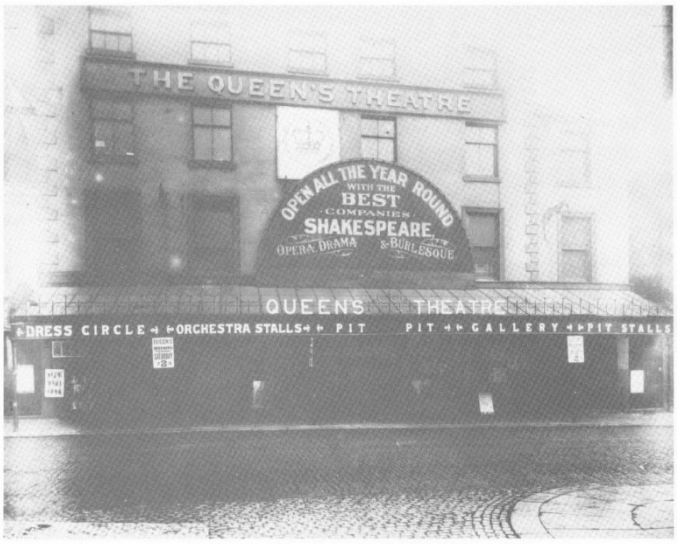



Illustration 1.17 – Queen's Theatre – 12 February 1903
Manchester Local Image Collection m78151

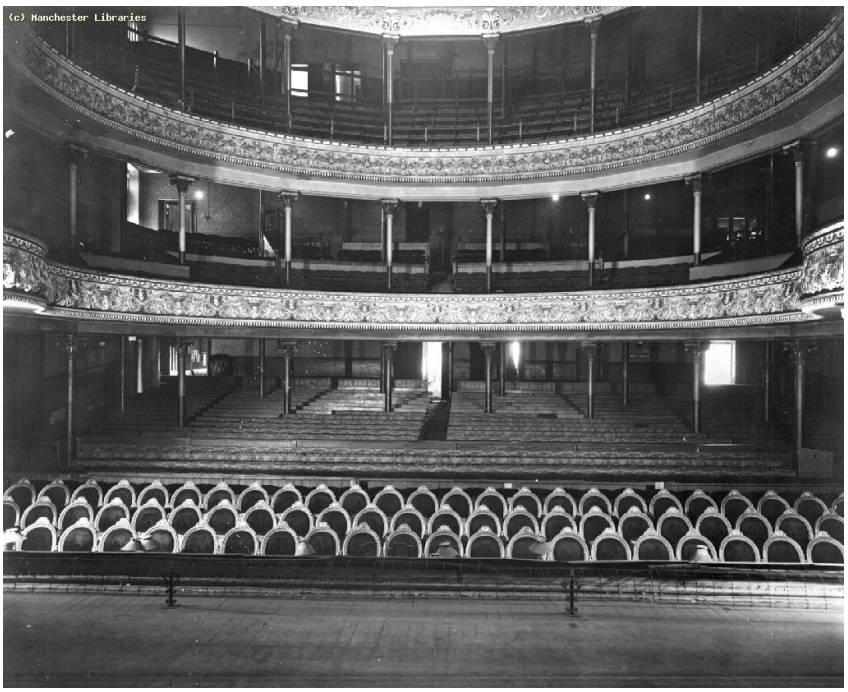



Illustration 1.18 – Queen's Theatre Interior
Manchester Local Image Collection m06614




Illustration 1.19 – Comedy Theatre
Manchester Local Image Collection m08917




Illustration 1.20 – St. James's Theatre.
Manchester Local Image Collection m04222




Illustration 1.21 – Palace of Varieties
Manchester Local Image Collection m04214

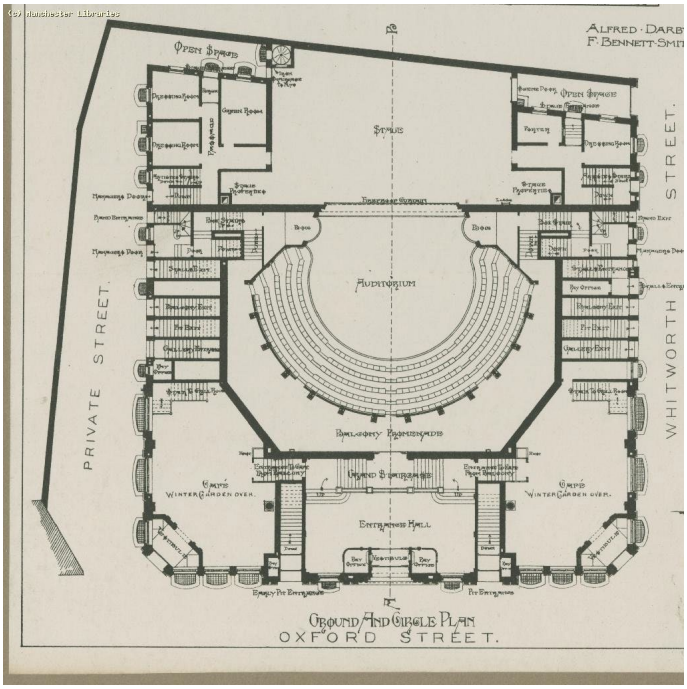



Illustration 1.22 – Plan of the Palace of Varieties.
Design according to the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan
Manchester Local Image Collection m08485

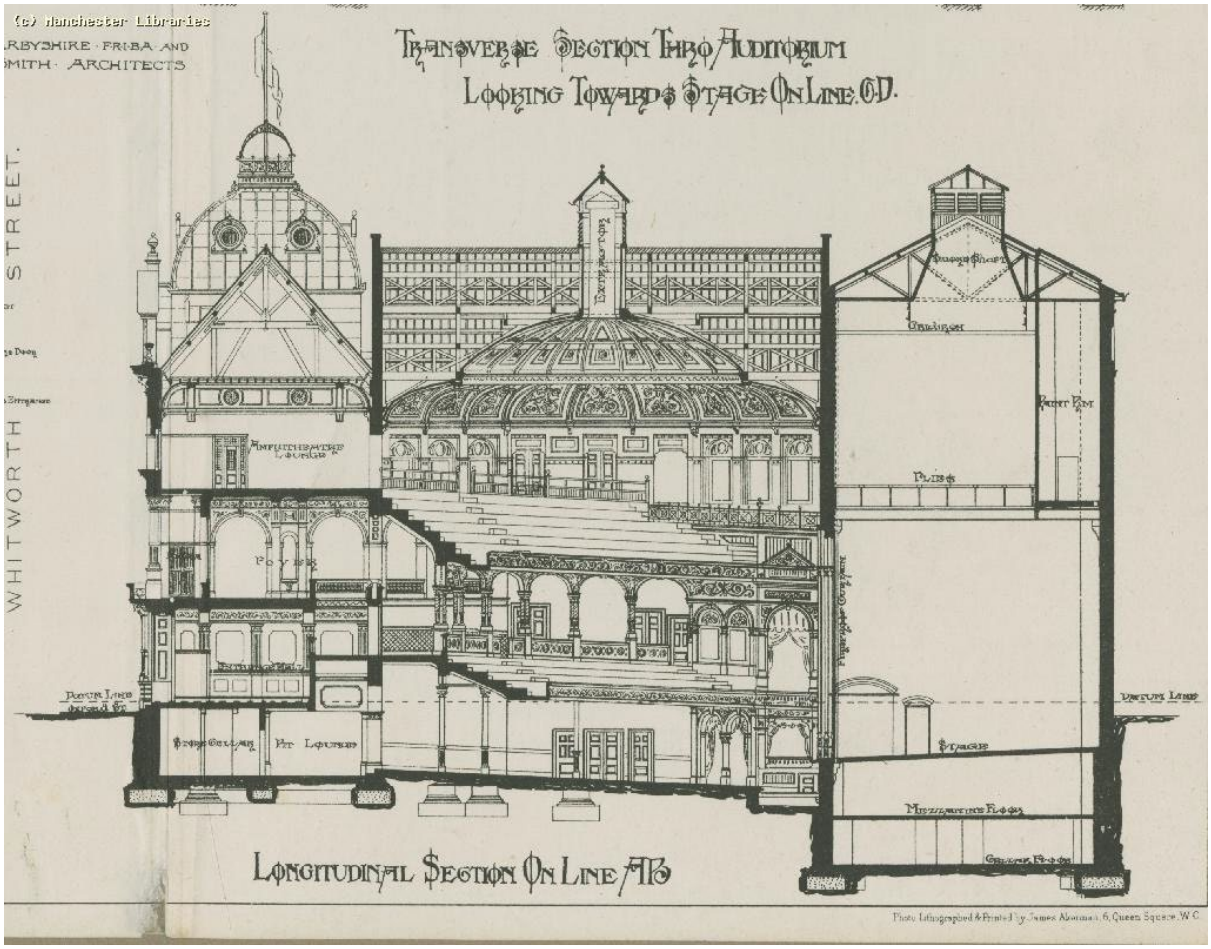



Illustration 1.23 – Side Elevation of the Palace of Varieties.
Design according to the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan.
Manchester Local Image Collection m08483

## SECTION 2 – NON-THEATRICAL VENUES

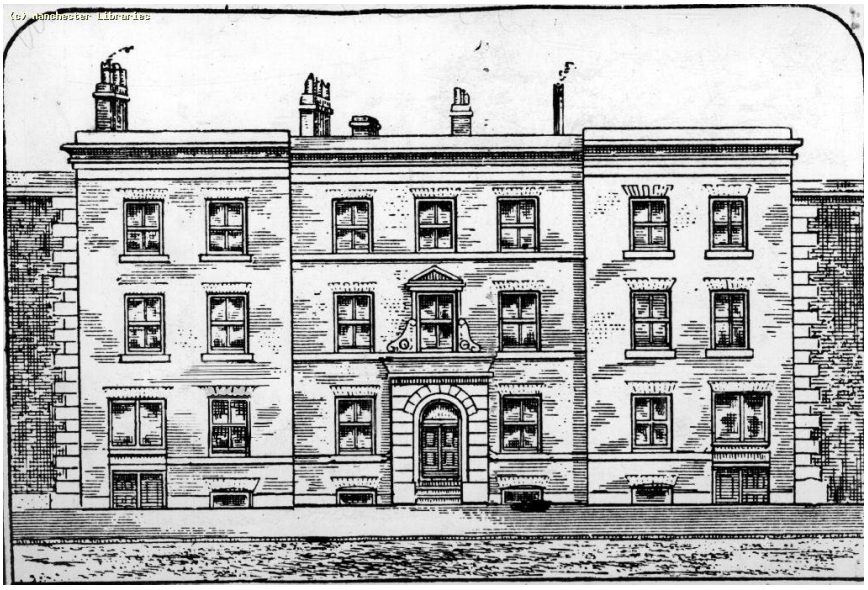


Illustration 2.1 – Manchester Mechanics' Institute, Cooper Street.
Manchester Local Image Collection m64348

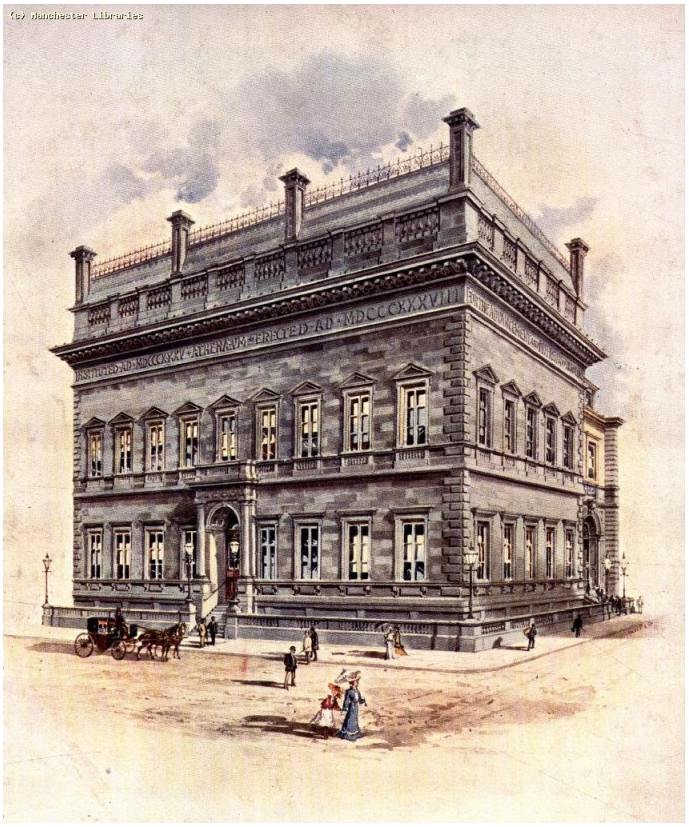


Illustration 2.2 – Athenæum c.1901
Manchester Local Image Collection m64327

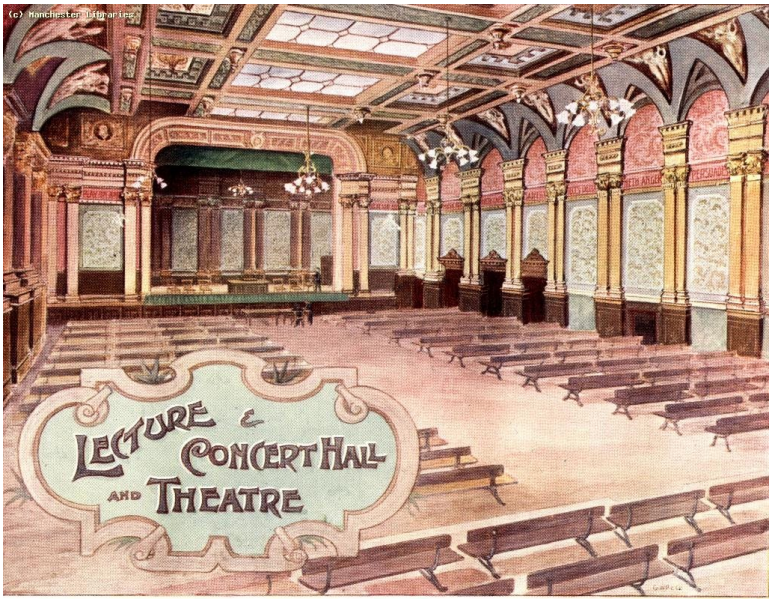



Illustration 2.3 – Athenæum Lecture Hall and Theatre.
Manchester Local Image Collection m64331

## SECTION 3 – PERSONALITIES



Illustration 3.1 – Bust of John Knowles in Manchester Town Hall, undated
assets.confidentials.com/uploads/imported/i/KR7/5Q14_H.jpg

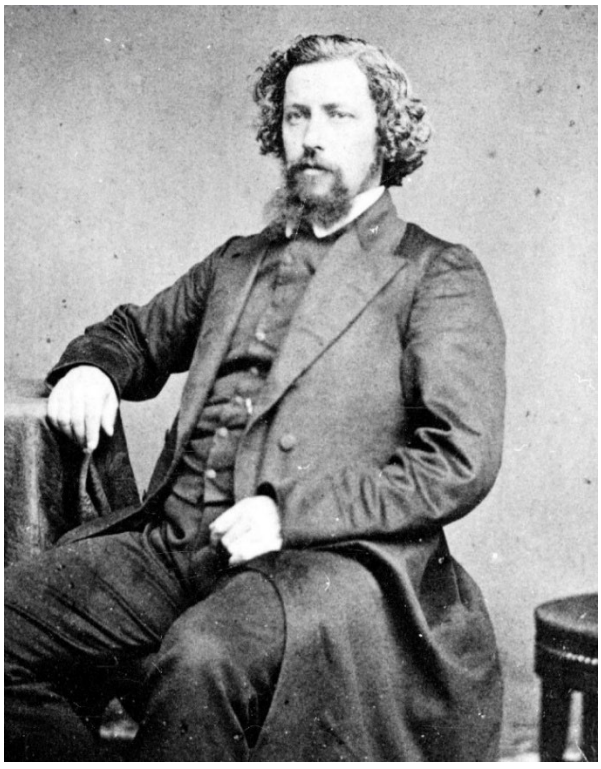


Illustration 3.2 – George Dawson, c.1866
Manchester Local Image Collection m72876



Illustration 3.3 – Charles Alexander Calvert as
Richard the Third at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, 1870.
University of Manchester Rylands Collection - Image JRL20111542
Copyright of the University of Manchester



Illustration 3.4 – Henry Irving, 1890
Manchester Local Image Collection m73571



Illustration 3.5 – Alfred Darbyshire, 1870
Manchester Local Image Collection m72851

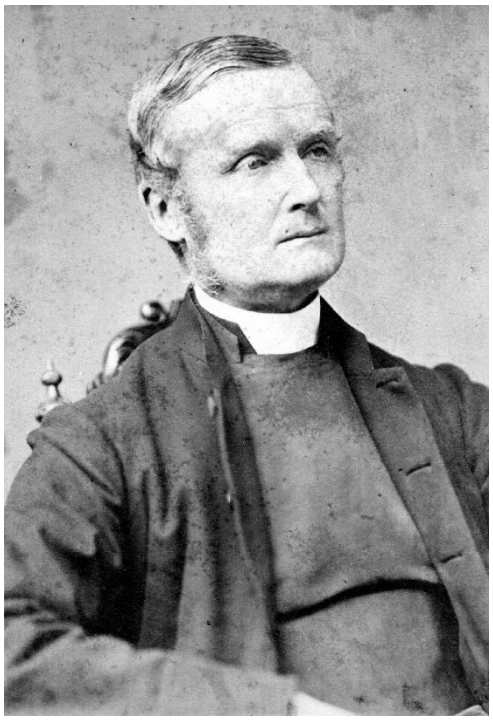


Illustration 3.6 – Bishop James Fraser, c.1870
Manchester Local Image Collection m73103

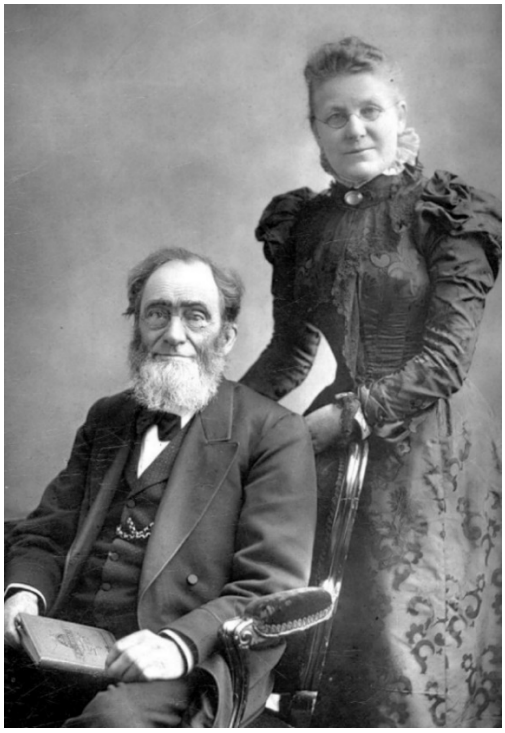


Illustration 3.7 – Leo and Rosa Grindon, 1898
Manchester Local Image Collection m73274



Illustration 3.8 – Ira Aldridge as Othello, the Moor of Venice
James Northcote, 1826. Manchester City Art Gallery –
© Bridgeman Art Library / Manchester Art Gallery



Illustration 3.9 – Adelaide Calvert, 1907
Calvert, *Sixty-Eight Years*, p. ii



Illustration 3.10 – Edwin Forrest, 1871 by David Johnson
Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington. Accession Number 1947.17.62

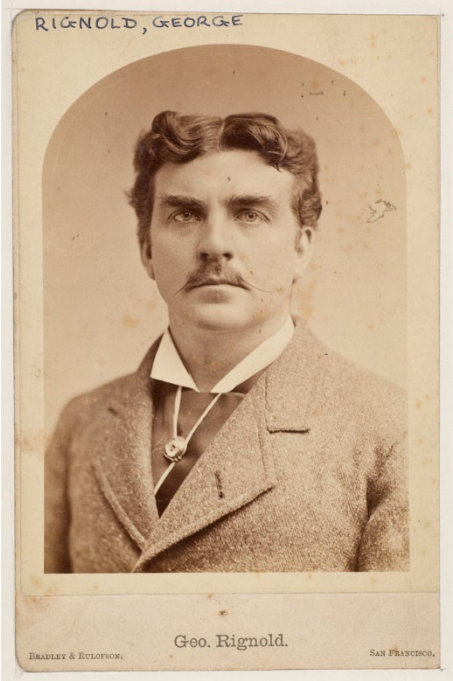



Illustration 3.11 – George Rignold c. 1887 by Bradley and Rulofson, San Francisco
New South Wales State Library – Call Number P1/1460, Reference Code 441996
Courtesy Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

## SECTION 4 – MISCELLANEOUS ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 4.1 – London-Manchester Stage Coach, “The Peveril of the Peak,”
outside the Peacock Inn, Islington, Manchester. James Pollard, 1835
Courtesy Yale Center for British Art. Accession Number B2001.2.61

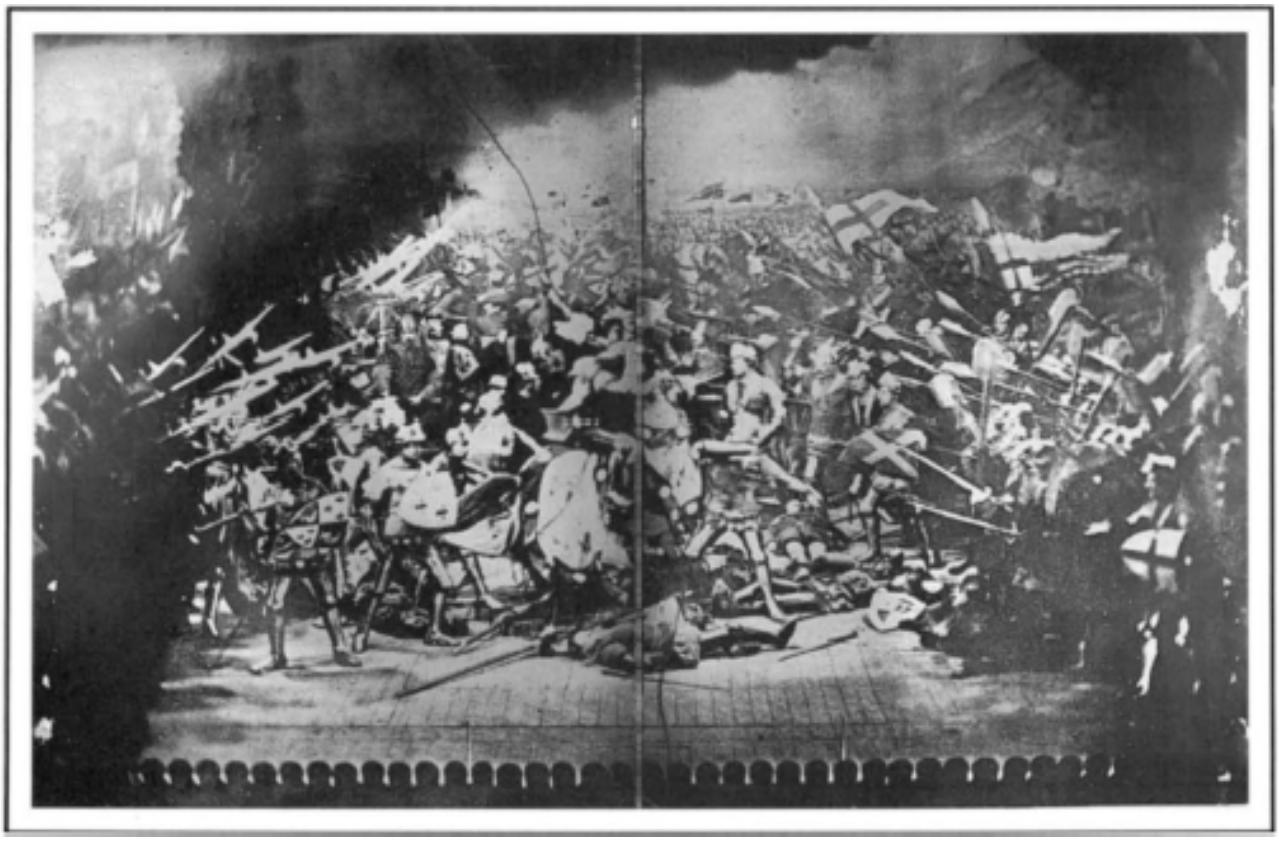


Illustration 4.2 – C. Calvert: Stage photograph 'taken in the theatre at midnight',
September 1872. Albumen print. 7 x 10¾ inches.
Spira, p. 292

**178. Calvert, C. A.** Jan. 20.

*Admission-fees, registering and checking; indicating at a distance electrically.*—Checks are issued from the tube *b*, which is hinged above, by pressing the finger-plate *e* as shown. A slot in the tube allows it to pass over the knife blade *f*, which ejects a check *c* through a front opening. The check, in falling, oscillates the trip lever *g*, which closes the circuit of an electric counter in the manager's office. The check-taker places the checks one by one in a tube through a hopper fitted with slides like a powder flask. The bottom slide is bevelled, so that the check deflects it when passing, thereby closing the upper slide. The oscillations of the lever joining the two slides close the circuit of a second recording-instrument in the manager's room. Both tubes are graduated and slotted or glazed, so that the number of checks they contain may be read off at any moment.

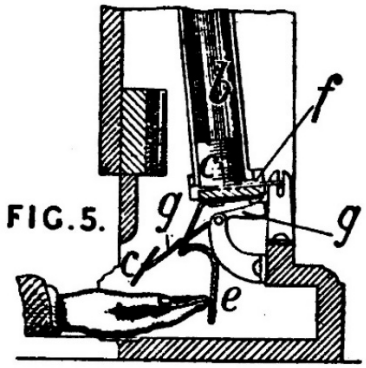


FIG. 5.

Illustration 4.3 – Calvert's Recorder
*British Theatrical Patents 1801 – 1901*, p. 18
Courtesy Society for Theatre Research

MR. GEORGE RIGNOLD,
BOOTH'S THEATRE, NEW YORK,
for a limited number of Weeks,
Commencing February 5th. On his Return, English Tour of
"HENRY THE FIFTH."
Vacant dates, terms, and full particulars can be obtained on application to Mr Blackmore, 11, Garrick-street, Covent-garden.

MR. COLEMAN
will appear as HENRY THE FIFTH,
in his Adaptation from Shakespeare's "Henry the Fourth" and "Henry the Fifth," assisted by Mrs CHARLES CALVERT and a specially selected Company, in EDINBURGH, Glasgow, Dublin, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bradford, Leeds, York, &c. All dates are filled for First Tour. After the Second Tour, commencing in the Autumn, Mr Coleman will visit America and Australia with his Company, and the whole of the *Mise en Scène* of this and other great works.
Address, H. HERMANN, Business Manager, New Theatre Royal, Leeds.

Illustration 4.4 – Advertisements for Rignold and Coleman
*Era*, 11 February 1877, p. 1

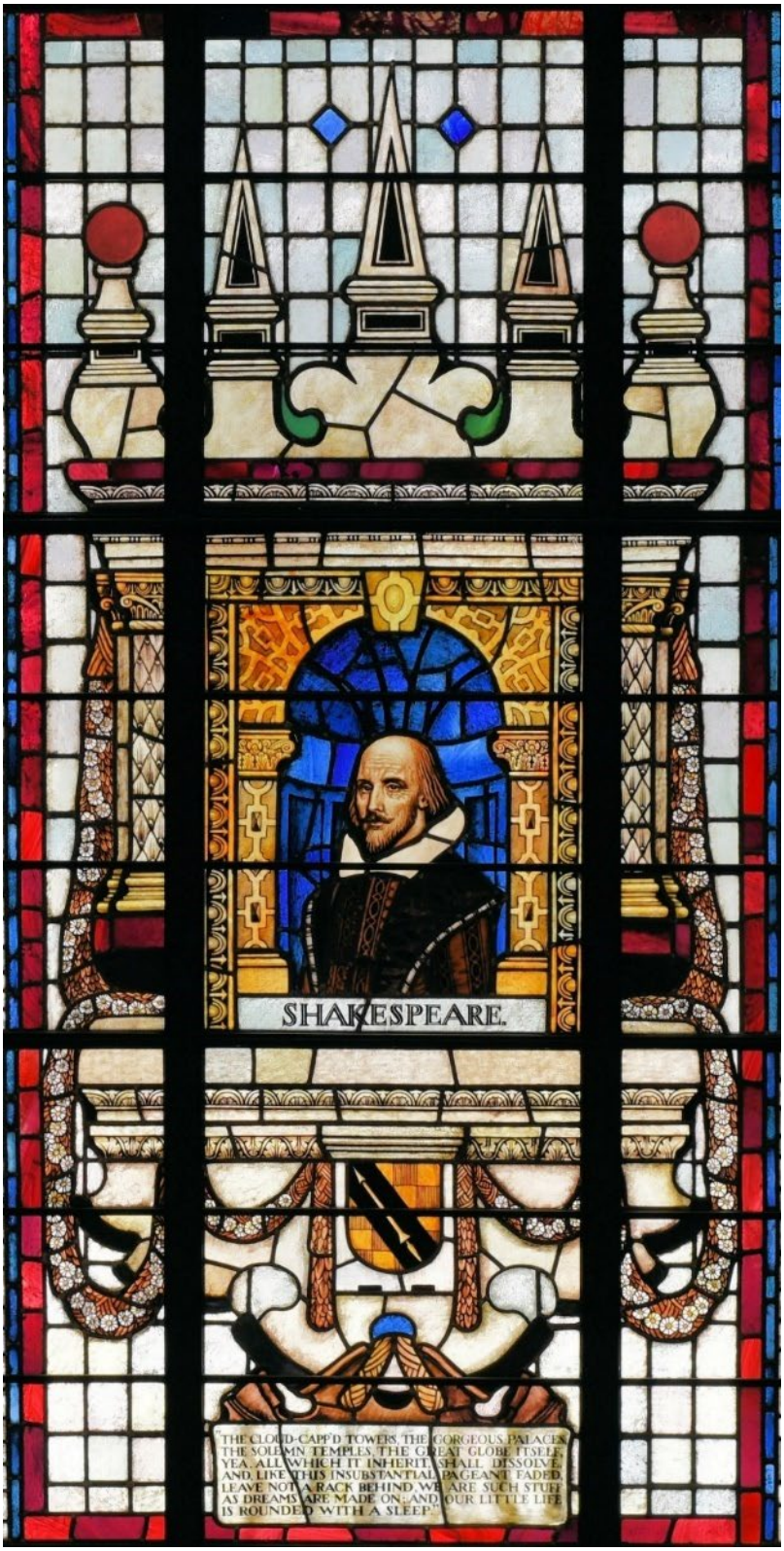
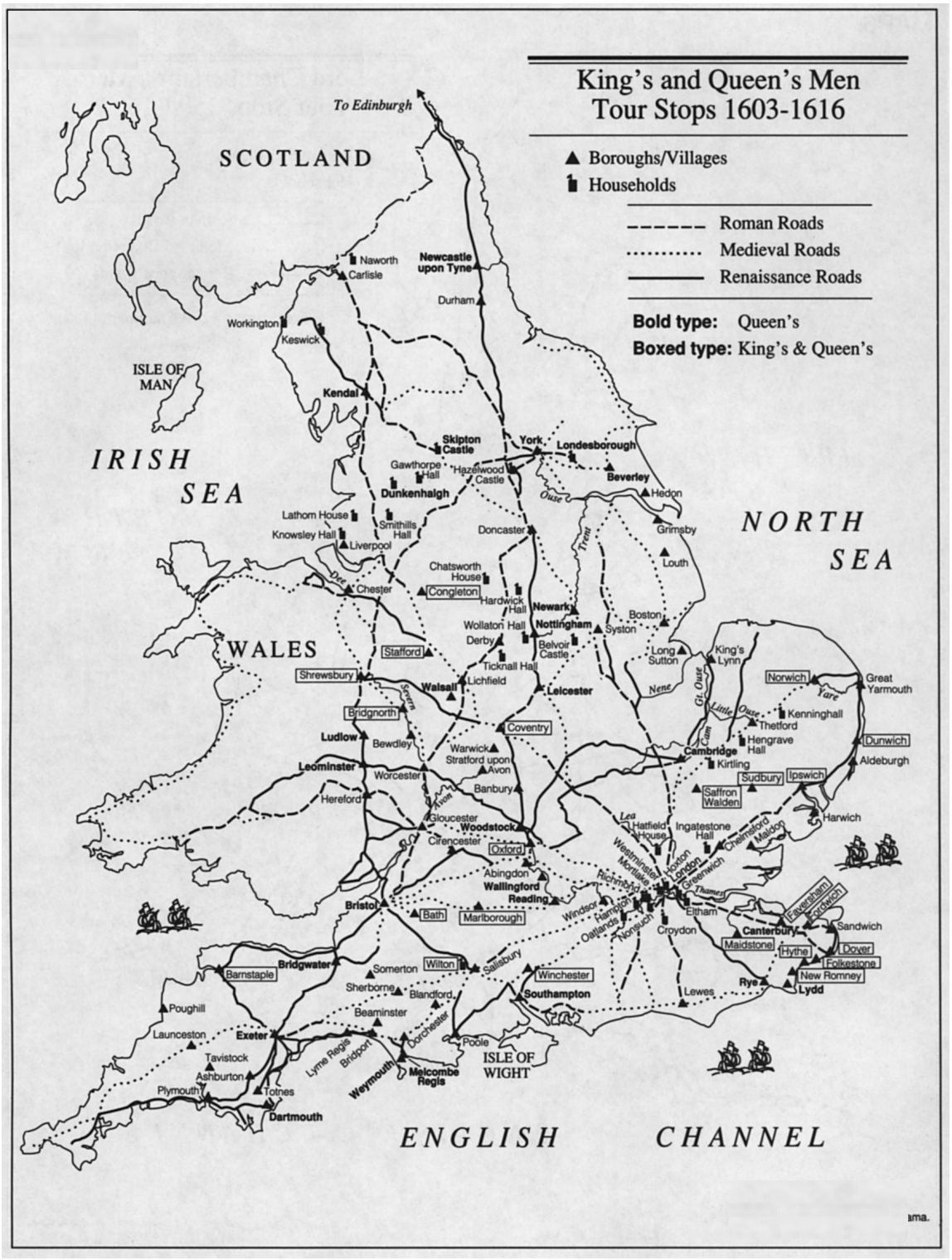



Illustration 4.5 – Manchester Central Library's
Shakespeare Window
Author's photograph.

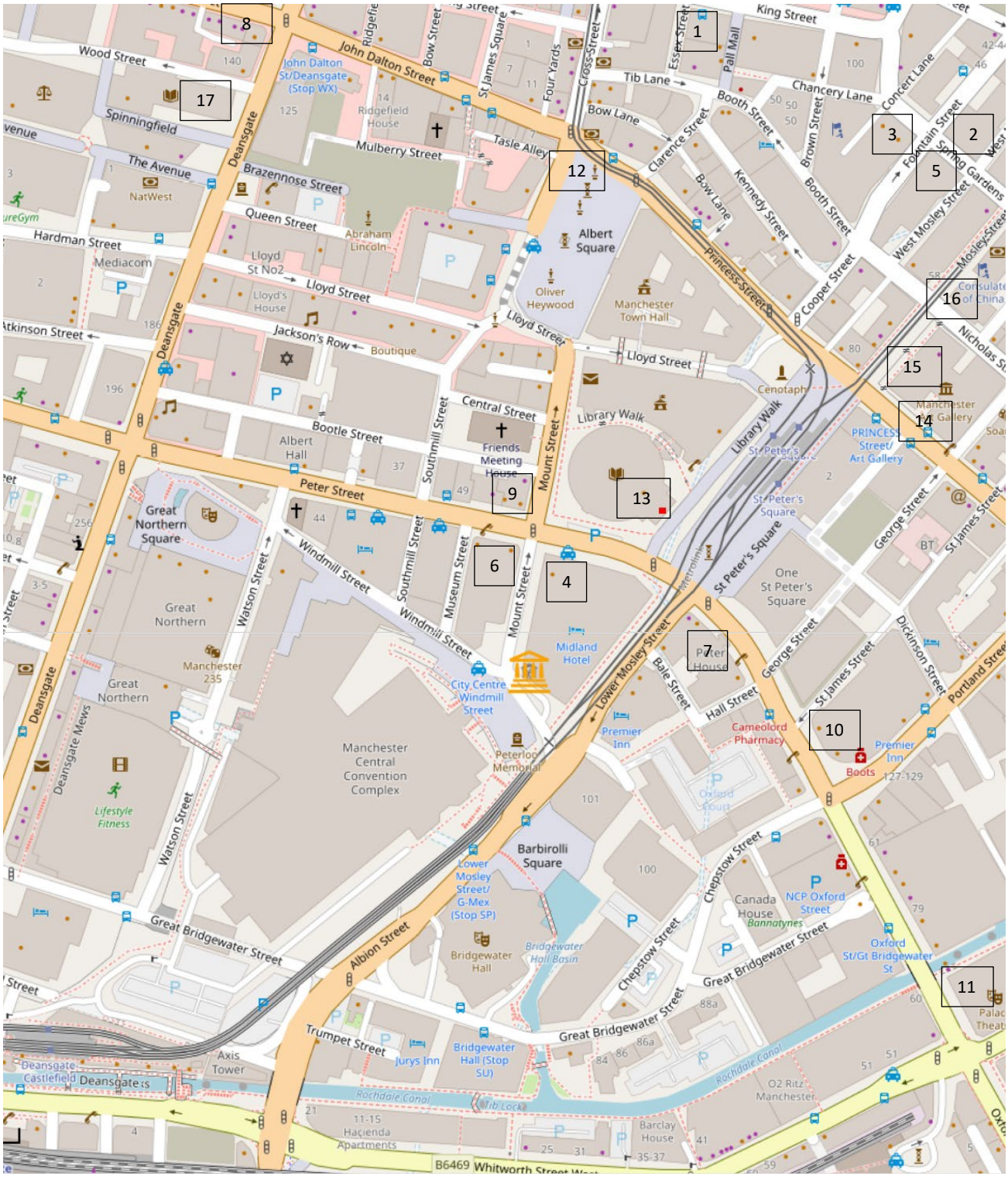
## MAPS

### Map 1 – King's and Queen's Men Tour Stops 1603-1616




MacLean, p. 8

## Map 2 – Shakespeare's Manchester



**Key to Map 2**

1 Marsden Street Theatre

2 Theatre Royal (First), Spring Gardens

3 Theatre Royal (Second), Fountain Street

4 Gentlemen's Concert Hall, St. Peter's Square

5 Queen's Theatre (First), Spring Gardens

6 Theatre Royal (Third), Peter Street

7 Prince's Theatre, Oxford Street

8 Queen's Theatre (Second), Bridge Street

9 Comedy Theatre, Peter Street

10 St. James' Theatre, Oxford Street

11 Palace Theatre, Oxford Street

12 Statue of Bishop James Fraser

13 Manchester Central Library – Shakespeare Window and Shakespeare Hall

14 Athenæum

15 Manchester Art Gallery

16 Portico Library

17 John Rylands Library

## TABLES

### Table 1

### Populations of Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham 1801-1901

| Year | Birmingham | Liverpool | Manchester |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1801 | 87,606 | 85,627 | 334,013 |
| 1811 | 101,532 | 106,209 | 414,702 |
| 1821 | 124,911 | 137,880 | 530,857 |
| 1831 | 167,625 | 195,078 | 704,268 |
| 1841 | 218,638 | 271,824 | 870,749 |
| 1851 | 280,072 | 340.907 | 1,051,730 |
| 1861 | 366,568 | 392,481 | 1,232,562 |
| 1871 | 444,000 (est.) | 525,000 (est.) | 1,590,102 |
| 1881 | 530,790 | 649,613 | 1,866,274 |
| 1891 | 609,074 | 662,667 | 2,125,441 |
| 1901 | 630,132 | 685,000 | 2,357,150 |

**Manchester**
GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Greater Manchester Met. C through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*.
URL: www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10056925/cube/TOT_POP
Date accessed: 11th September 2021

**Birmingham**
GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Birmingham District through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*.
URL: www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10104180/cube/TOT_POP
Date accessed: 11th September 2021

**Liverpool**
GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, Liverpool District through time | Population Statistics | Total Population, *A Vision of Britain through Time*.
URL: www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10105821/cube/TOT_POP
Date accessed: 11th September 2021

**Table 2**

**Summary History of Manchester Theatres**

| Name | Opening Date | Closing Date | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|
| Royal Exchange, Exchange Street | 1729 | 1792 | Top floor used as a place of entertainment. |
| Marsden Street Theatre | 3 December 1753 | 12 May 1775 | |
| Theatre Royal (First), Spring Gardens | 5 June 1775<br>15 February 1790 | 19 June 1789<br>18 June 1807 | Destroyed by fire in 1789 and rebuilt on the same site |
| Theatre Royal (Second), Fountain Street | 29 June 1807 | 7 May 1844 | Destroyed by fire. |
| Gentlemen's Concert Hall, St. Peter's Square | 1830 | 1898 | Midland Hotel built on the site. |
| Queen's Theatre (First), Spring Gardens | 30 May 1831 | 16 March 1869 | Built on the site of the first Theatre Royal. |
| Theatre Royal (Third), Peter Street | 29 September 1845 | 30 May 1921 | Converted into a cinema. |
| Prince's Theatre, Oxford Street | 15 October 1864 | 20 April 1940 | Opened with Calvert's *The Tempest.* |
| Queen's Theatre (Second), Bridge Street | 5 November 1870<br>28 March 1891 | 17 August 1890<br>24 June 1911 | Destroyed by fire in 1890 and rebuilt on the same site. |
| Comedy Theatre, 59 Peter Street | 22 March 1884<br>26 October 1903 | 26 October 1903<br>28 May 1921 | Renamed Gaiety Theatre 26 October 1903. |
| St. James' Theatre, Oxford Street | 2 June 1884 | 29 September 1907 | |
| Palace Theatre, Oxford Street | 18 May 1891 | - | Designed using the Irving-Darbyshire Safety Plan. |

**Table 3**

**Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in Manchester Newspapers**

Search Date: 5 July 2020

| | Articles | Advertisements | Other | Guardian | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 - 1849 | 108 | 106 | 17 | 631 | 862 |
| 1850 - 1859 | 120 | 50 | 7 | 871 | 1048 |
| 1860 - 1869 | 70 | 68 | 7 | 1229 | 1374 |
| 1870 - 1879 | 423 | 412 | 18 | 2488 | 3339 |
| 1880 - 1889 | 1723 | 1632 | 61 | 1929 | 5345 |
| 1890 - 1899 | 2444 | 1894 | 56 | 1480 | 5873 |
| 1900 - 1909 | 3522 | 1986 | 225 | 2428 | 8161 |

Newspapers.com does not provide a breakdown of the types of entry in Manchester Guardian.

| | MCL | MEN | SC | MG | MT | MDE | BBJ | ENU | OTHERS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1800 - 1809 | | | | | | | | | 44 |
| 1810 - 1819 | | | | | | | | | 111 |
| 1820 - 1829 | 94 | | | 143 | 3 | | | | 60 |
| 1830 - 1839 | 72 | | | 191 | 38 | | | | 9 |
| 1840 - 1849 | 129 | | | 631 | 48 | | | | 54 |
| 1850 - 1859 | 174 | | | 871 | 3 | | | | 0 |
| 1860 - 1869 | 136 | | | 1229 | 8 | 1 | | | 0 |
| 1870 - 1879 | 522 | 198 | 101 | 2488 | 11 | 1 | 38 | | 6 |
| 1880 - 1889 | 2105 | 896 | 87 | 1929 | 32 | 1 | 69 | 320 | 226 |
| 1890 - 1899 | 3375 | 661 | 30 | 1480 | 154 | 23 | 22 | 734 | 170 |
| 1900 - 1909 | 4001 | 1462 | 93 | 2428 | 39 | | | 891 | 193 |
| 1910 - 1919 | 887 | 775 | 29 | 2335 | | | | 123 | 509 |
| 1920 - 1929 | 683 | | 28 | 3784 | | | | | 61 |

**Key**
MCL - Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser (1825 - 1916)
MEN - Manchester Evening News (1868 - present day)
SC - Sporting Chronicle (1871 - 1983)
MG - Manchester Guardian (1821 - 1959)
MT - Manchester Times (1828 - 1922)
MDE - Manchester Daily Examiner and Times (1845 - 1894)
BBJ - Ben Brierley's Journal (1869 - 1891)
ENU - Empire News and The Umpire (1884-1959)

**Table 4**

**Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in Birmingham Newspapers**

Search Date: 5 July 2020

| | Articles | Advertisements | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 - 1849 | 95 | 38 | 3 | 136 |
| 1850 - 1859 | 128 | 56 | 7 | 186 |
| 1860 - 1869 | 2987 | 1461 | 51 | 4499 |
| 1870 - 1879 | 1637 | 1201 | 42 | 2880 |
| 1880 - 1889 | 2163 | 570 | 74 | 2807 |
| 1890 - 1899 | 1460 | 560 | 60 | 2050 |
| 1900 - 1909 | 2787 | 224 | 70 | 3081 |

**Table 5**

**Incidence of 'Shakespeare' and Variant Spellings in London Newspapers**

Search Date: 5 July 2020

| | Articles | Advertisements | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 - 1849 | 3556 | 722 | 170 | 4448 |
| 1850 - 1859 | 6710 | 1796 | 489 | 8995 |
| 1860 - 1869 | 18239 | 3021 | 766 | 22018 |
| 1870 - 1879 | 18871 | 4022 | 1051 | 23944 |
| 1880 - 1889 | 28986 | 5966 | 2182 | 37134 |
| 1890 - 1899 | 33750 | 9319 | 3744 | 46823 |
| 1900 - 1909 | 49290 | 6506 | 3091 | 58887 |

**Table 6**

**Analysis of Shakespeare Plays Produced during Macready's Management of Covent Garden and Drury Lane 1837 - 1843**

| | Covent Garden 1837-1838 | Covent Garden 1838-1839 | Drury Lane 1841-1842 | Drury Lane 1842-1843 | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Main Plays | 37 | 29 | 16 | 34 | 116 |
| Average Run | 5.7 | 7.6 | 7.2 | 5.3 | 6.3 |
| Total Performances | 212 | 222 | 116 | 183 | 733 |
| **Plays of Shakespeare** | | | | | |
| Number of Plays | 11 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 36 |
| Average run | 5 | 10.5 | 8.4 | 10.5 | 8.5 |
| Total Performances | 55 | 115 | 44 | 95 | 309 |
| Percentage of all performances | 26% | 51.8% | 36.2% | 52.5% | 42.7% |
| Nightly Average Income | - | - | £233 | £194 | - |
| Percentage of all income | - | - | 41.3% | 57.8% | - |
| **Non-Shakespearean Plays** | | | | | |
| Number of Plays | 20 | 15 | 9 | 19 | 63 |
| Average run | 5.7 | 5.6 | 3.9 | 3 | 4.8 |
| Total Performances | 115 | 85 | 44 | 57 | 301 |
| Percentage of all performances | 54.2% | 38.2% | 37.9% | 31.5% | 41.2% |
| Nightly Average Income | - | - | £163 | £151 | - |
| Percentage of all income | - | - | 30.2% | 26.9% | - |
| **Operas and Musicals** | | | | | |
| Number of Plays | 6 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 17 |
| Average run | 7 | 7.3 | 15 | 4.8 | 12.5 |
| Total Performances | 42 | 22 | 31 | 29 | 124 |
| Percentage of all performances | 20% | 9.9% | 25.9% | 16% | 17.1% |
| Nightly Average Income | | | £226 | £167 | |
| Percentage of all income | | | 28.5% | 14.7% | |

Bassett, p.4

**Table 7**

**Calvert's Revivals at the Prince's Theatre and the Theatre Royal**

| Play | First Performance | Final Performance | Run (days) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Tempest (First run)* | 15 October 1864 | 19 November 1864 | 45 |
| *The Tempest (Second run)* | 21 April 1865 | 8 May 1865 | |
| *Much Ado About Nothing* | 13 February 1865 | 30 May 1865 | 33 |
| *A Midsummer Night's Dream* | 2 September 1865 | 28 October 1865 | 36 |
| *Antony and Cleopatra* | 10 September 1866 | 3 November 1866 | 55 |
| *A Winter's Tale* | 8 September 1869 | 30 October 1869 | 53 |
| *The Life and Death of Richard the Third* | 31 August 1870 | 4 November 1870 | 36 |
| *Timon of Athens* | 6 March 1871 | 1 April 1871 | 26 |
| *The Merchant of Venice* | 18 September 1871 | 2 December 1871 | 85 |
| *Henry the Fifth* | 16 September 1872 | 7 December 1872 | 92 |
| *Twelfth Night* | 8 September 1873 | 7 November 1873 | 100 |
| *Henry the Fourth Part 2* | 28 September 1874 | 31 October 1874 | 33 |
| *Henry the Eighth (Theatre Royal)* | 27 August 1877 | 3 November 1877 | 38 |

Average length of run – 53 days

Note – I have excluded Calvert's production of *Hamlet* at the Theatre Royal commencing 12 November 1859 as this was his first Shakespearean production in Manchester and cannot be classed as a revival.

## Table 8

## Charles and Louis Calvert's Acting Editions

| Ref. | Title | Publisher | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Shakspere's play of A Midsummer Night's Dream : arranged for presentation at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester by Charles Calvert. As first performed on Saturday, 2nd September 1865 | Manchester : A. Ireland and Co., Printers, Pall Mall Court. | 1865 |
| 2 | Shakspeare's tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra arranged for representation in four acts by Charles Calvert. Presented at the Prince's Theatre in Manchester | Edinburgh : Printed by Schenck and M'Farlane | 1866 |
| 3 | A Winter's Tale / by William Shakespere. Arranged for representation at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, by Charles Calvert. | Manchester : John Heywood. | 1869 |
| 4 | The Life and Death of Richard the Third / by William Shakespeare ; arranged for representation from the text, by Charles Calvert, and first produced at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester. | Manchester : Alexander Ireland Co., printers. | 1870 |
| 5 | The Merchant of Venice by William Shakspere ; arranged for representation at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, by Charles Calvert | Manchester : A. Ireland and Co., printers. | 1871 |
| 6 | Shakespere's historical play of Henry the Fifth arranged for representation in five acts by Charles Calvert, and produced under his direction at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, September 1872. | Manchester : Printed by H. Blacklock & Co. | 1872 |
| 7 | Shakspere's comedy of Twelfth Night arranged for representation in five acts by Charles Calvert, and produced under his direction at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, September 1873. | Manchester : Printed by A. Ireland & Co. | 1873 |
| 8 | The second part of Henry the Fourth : containing his death and the coronation of King Henry the Fift by William Shakspere ; arranged for representation by Charles Calvert, and produced under his direction at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester, September 1874. | Manchester : James F. Wilkinson, printer, | 1874 |
| 9 | Henry the Fifth arranged by Charles Calvert for the Booth Theatre, New York | New York : Cushing and Bardua, Printer, 138, 139, 141, 143 Centre Street | 8 Feb. 1875 |
| 10 | Henry the Fifth arranged by Charles E. Newton for the Booth Theatre, New York<br>*(Apparently the same as Calvert's version dated 8 February 1875)* | New York : Robert M. De Witt | 8 Feb. 1875 |
| 11 | Henry the Eighth arranged for representation from the text by Charles Calvert and first produced at the Theatre Royal, Manchester | London : W.S. Johnson, Nassau Steam Press, 60 St. Martin's Lane, Charing Cross, W.C | 1877 |
| 12 | Shakspere's historical play of Henry the Fifth / as produced by Mr. George Rignold at Drury Lane Theatre, November 1st, 1879. (*Based on Calvert's version dated 8 February 1875)* | London : Aubert's Steam Printing Works, 11, Maiden Lane, Strand | 1879 |
| 13 | Shakspeare's tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra arranged for representation in four acts by Louis Calvert and Richard Flanagan. Presented at the Queen's Theatre in Manchester | Manchester : Jesse Broad and Sons, Printers and Publishers, Deansgate | 1897 |
| 14 | Shakespeare's Comedy of The Tempest Arranged for Representation by Charles Calvert | Not known | Not known |
| Calvert presented *The Tempest* in 1864 but this edition was published several years later. It is undated but has to be after 1866 as the title page lists Calvert's revivals up to *Manfred* (1867). The preface implies that Calvert, who died in 1877, was still alive so probably published before that date.<br>Introductory notes extracted from Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Lectures on Shakespeare* (1811-1819).<br>The only extant copy of this text so far located which resides in the University of Kent's Pettingell Collection lacks the cover pages so printing details cannot be established. | | | |
| I have not located any examples of Calvert's acting editions for *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Timon of Athens* so it is likely that they were not published. | | | |

**Table 9**

**Shakespeare-Related Works by Leo Grindon and Rosa Grindon**

| Ref. | Title | Publisher | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *The Shakspere Flora : A Guide to All the Principal Passages in Which Mention Is Made of Trees Plants Flowers and Vegetable Productions : With Comments and Botanical Particulars* (by Leo Grindon) | Palmer and Howe, Manchester | 1883 |
| 2 | *In Praise of Shakespere's Merry Wives of Windsor. An Essay in Exposition and Appreciation* | Sherratt and Hughes, St. Ann's Street, Manchester | 1902 |
| 3 | *Manchester Ladies and Richard III - an article by Mrs. L. Grindon (née Elverson).*<br>*Cheltenham Ladies College Magazine, 1903, no. 47, p.75* | Unknown | 1903 |
| 4 | *In Praise of Shakespere's Henry VIII.*<br>*An Essay in Exposition and Appreciation* | Sherratt and Hughes, St. Ann's Street, Manchester | 1903 |
| 5 | *What the Play of Hamlet Says to Us* | Marsden and Co., Limited, Printers, Carr Street, Manchester | 1906 |
| 6 | *A Woman's Study of Antony and Cleopatra* | Sherratt and Hughes, Cross Street, Manchester | 1909 |
| 7 | *The Story and the Poetry of Shakespeare's Play of Cymbeline. Lecture Delivered by Mrs. Leo Grindon in the Picture Gallery, Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon, April 20, 1909, at the Request of the Shakespeare Festival Committee* | Marsden & Co. Ltd, Mercury Works, Manchester | 1909 |
| 8 | *A New Shakespeare Society.*<br>*Reprinted from the Manchester City News* (Pamphlet) | Unknown | 1912 |
| 9 | *Shakespeare and his Plays from a Woman's Point of View*<br>*Ed. G. Vale Owen*<br><br>(A compilation of eighteen of Grindon's lectures) | The Policy-Holder Journal Company Ltd., 44, Lloyd Street, Albert Square, Manchester | 1930 |
| - | *A Woman's Lectures* held by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust is a private binding by the Shakespeare Memorial Library of *The Merry Wives of Windsor (2), Henry VIII (3), Hamlet (4) and Antony and Cleopatra (5).* | - | - |

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

‘LINES *On the installation of something like Shakespeare’s Image in front of the Theatre Royal, Manchester, (by P.C.)’*

Old “Rare Ben Jonson” came to town,
And from Bank Top soon hurried down,
Determined Deansgate first to see,
(For Ben at all times loved a spree.)
As down through Peter Street he passed,
By chance an eye he upward cast,
And saw above the playhouse door,
A face like one he’d seen before;
Then thought as he advanced more near,
‘Twas Shakespeare’s, his old crony dear,
“Pray who are you, perched there so high?”
The statue answered with a sigh,
“They say I’m Shakespeare, what think you?”
“Why, if you are, your case looks blue,
You’ve got a club foot, now I see,
And a white-swelling in your knee,
And dropsied legs, and such a phiz,
You must be there for folks to quiz”.
“Alas, Poor Yorick!”
With a sigh,
Again the marble made reply;
“O Ben your spite survives yourself,
One of your trade, a tasteless elf !,
Placed me thus mutilated here;
Nor wonder that I look so white,
When forced to hear inside each night,
My verses mouthed, squeaked, and frittered,
By ranting knaves, unshaped, unlettered,
Who spout in bass or treble key,
Just in proportion to their pay;
And thus my fame and fate at last,
Here in a pillory made fast.”
“Alas, poor Billy”, muttered Ben,
And hastened to the Castle Inn’.

*Manchester Courier and General Advertiser*, 2 December 1846, p. 3

## Appendix 2

### Third Theatre Royal – Dimensions, Seating Capacity and Potential Revenue

The new theatre embraces an area of 1,400 square feet, 400 feet less than the late theatre; but from the many improvements adopted, and greater economy of space in construction. it is equal in accommodation, and superior in comfort, to the old one…First, then, as to the actual size, from the back wall of the centre box to the back wall of the stage there is a space of 120 feet ; from side to side of the boxes, 55 feet; from the curtain of the balcony to the centre box, 45 feet; across the pit, 40 feet. The ceiling of the theatre is 48 feet above the floor of the pit. The dimensions of the stage, from the footlights to the back, is 75 feet, which is seven feet deeper than the old theatre, and has a most splendid effect when thrown open. The full amount of accommodation in the theatre is thus estimated:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dress circle | price 4s. 0d. | 300 |
| Stalls | price 4s. 0d. | 77 |
| Private boxes | price 4s. 0d. | 60 |
| Upper boxes | price 2s. 6d. | 350 |
| Upper side boxes or slips | price 2s. 6d. | 110 |
| Pit | price 1s. 6d. | 500 |
| Gallery | price 1s. 6d. | 450 |
| Upper gallery | price 0s. 6d. | 300 |
| | | 2147 |

Yielding, when so filled, about £250 per night.

*Manchester and Salford Advertiser*, 4 October 1845, p. 6

## Appendix 3

### Benjamin Brierley's Prologue at the Athenæum – 23 April 1864

This is a day of monuments;—a time
When with the image bright or thought sublime,
Engathered from his own *immortels*, we
Crown him who's "all mankind's epitome" ;
Great Shakspere! He, our poet, priest, and sage,
Law-giver to the heart, for every age
The soul's prime minister, this day was born.
For him no pæns woke the hallowed morn
On which he first saw light. No chime of bell,
No blare of trumpet bade the echoes tell
A giant was given to us. But glory came,
Her eyes all lustrous with poetic flame,
And with her pinion swept the infant's brow.
And thus proclaimed, "Shakspere, a Titan thou!"
Three hundred years have waxed and waned since then.
Ten thousand radiant suns, nay ten times ten,
Have risen and set, and watched the changing scene
Of life and death, *being* as't ne'er had *been*.
Sweep o'er this mundane battleground ; but *one*,
The soul's bright luminary, not yet hath gone
From its assigned meridian. No west
Was e'er created for its setting rest ;
No wave to shroud its splendour. Fixed above
With eternal blaze that lights to love,
And joy, and beauty, shall its glory shine.
Truth's Mecca—of mind-worshippers the shrine.
Hark now, how rolls the myriad-throated shout
In thunder cadences the land throughout.
Hail, mighty bard; welcome thy natal hour !
Thy pen hath left humanity a dower
Kings could not have bequeathed. A heritage
Is in thy name alone ; but from the page
Where thou has stamped thy soul wondrous lines
The wealth of a tenfold Eldorado shines.
Gifts next to heaven's were thine; as vernal leaves,
Sweat summer blossoms and autumnal sheaves,—
So gather we the bounties thou has brought.
And store them the garner-house of thought.
And for this glorious boon that thou has given
We name thee Titan—only less than heaven ;
Greater than kings, thou of mind-royal brow,

Accept the homage of *thy kingdom* now.
No name but thine on our lips to-day;
Weave it, ye bards, in the triumphal lay,
Chant it in natal hymns-this England's boast;
Flash from wine-cups, ye who quaff the toast
Writ in each heart - enshrin'd there let it prove
The worthiest tribute of a nation's love.
This is a day of monuments. Now raise
we ours. Not bronze with lettered praise
Telling that once he *lived* who ne'er he hath *died*
Nor marble image, mocking life we hide
Within our humble temple ; but he life-
The very self of Shakspere bring we,-- rife
With spirit incarnate, glowing with the fire
Prometheus snatched from Heaven, to inspire
His own creations with immortality.
No column ever raised could greater be
Than Shakspere built himself ; for jealous Fame
Will have no other to his deathless name.
The moving scene, the eloquence of soul,
The heart's emotion, and the beauteous whole
That wraps and animates the image wrought—
These are the living monuments we've brought
To glorify their master. Ours the task
To raise the curtain and assume the mask ;
And that we may not in our efforts fail-
Come Shakspere's self and tell thy wondrous tale !

*MCLGA*, 25 April 1864, p. 3